Sufism, Sufi Leadership and 'Modernisation' in South Asia since c. 1800

Thesis submitted for the degree of Ph.D

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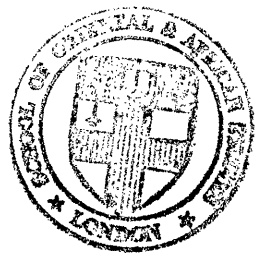

Abstract

Relatively little research has been devoted to the responses of sufism, the Islamic spiritual tradition, to processes of 'modernisation'. I have been concerned to study the responses of Indian sufism to the growth of the colonial state, which established new forms of knowledge and new forms of order, and to the emergence of Muslim movements of revival and reform, which saw, and still see, sufism as inimical to the capacity of Muslims to sustain an Islamic society. It is a context more hostile for sufism than ever experienced before.

I have approached the problem by examining the responses of three working spiritual traditions in nineteenth and twentieth century India. The first sufi shrine had an educated, urban following; the second had a largely rural following; the third appealed to all conditions of men and across all religious barriers. Unlike the other two this last tradition was a product of the colonial environment. It was notable in that the charisma of the saint was not 'routinised' through his familial descendants but through the workings of a committee.

The responses of each spiritual tradition to the changing social, economic and political context have been examined. The analysis of the doings and sayings of the saints as well as their miracles has shown how they responded to the changing needs of their followers. The areas of insecurity in the social and psychic life of the followers have been charted to indicate how these changed through time.

The three spiritual traditions have certainly been marginalised by the processes of 'modernisation' and Islamic reform, but not as much as might have been anticipated. Sufi affiliation has moved from being the norm for Muslims to being one option among many.

The capacity of the sufi shrines to survive has been closely related to their flexibility in adapting to changing times and to the skilful fostering of their constituencies.

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Abbreviations

BoR	Board of Revenue Proceedings.
CI-UP	Census Reports and Tables for NWP&O and United Provinces.
DG	District Gazetteers of the United Provinces and Uttar Pradesh.
DG Sup.	Uttar Pradesh District Gazetteers, Supplementary.
EI^2	Encyclopedia of Islam, Second Edition.
GAD	General Administration Department Proceedings.
IOR	India Office Library and Records, London.
n.d.	no date.
NWP	North-West Provinces.
NWP&O	North-West Provinces and Oudh.
OHP	Oudh Home Proceedings.
Rs.	Rupees.
UP	United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.
UPNNR	Selections from Native Newspapers of the NWP, NWP&O, and UP.
UPSA	Uttar Pradesh State Archive, Lucknow.

Note on Transliteration

Many different ways of spelling people's and place names are used in South Asia. For the sake of consistency the following conventions have been observed. Place names within UP have been spelled according to the early twentieth century District Gazetteers (*DG*) with the exception of Kanpur. The names of people who were interviewed have been acknowledged as these are spelled by them. All other names and terms, which have been underlined, have been transliterated according to a uniform system. Usually the plural has been formed by adding an 's' to the underlined word. Words listed in the OED (1973) have not been underlined.

The following system of transliteration has been used:

ا a	و u	ی i

ب b	ح h	ز z	ظ z	ل l
پ p	خ kh	ژ zh	ع ‘	م m
ت t	د d	س s	غ gh	ن n
ط t	ڈ d	ش sh	ف f	ں n
ث th	ز z	ص s	ق q	و w
ج j	ر r	ض z	ک k	ہ h
چ ch	ڑ r	ط t	گ g	ی y

Hamza has not been indicated.

Introduction

It is a feature of the evolving human condition that the spiritual faculties of man tend to wither under the influences of modernity. In Europe in the pre-modern period beliefs in supernatural sources of power, within and outside the church, flourished. There were magicians, cunning men and women, astrologers, diviners, witches, ghosts and fairies. There were, too, the officially sanctioned saints with their miracle working abilities. All these sources of supernatural power were integral parts of the fabric of medieval society. By the twentieth century these beliefs had lost credibility with the majority of the population. The 'processes of modernity' had led to the abandonment of, or the need for, these beliefs. There was the growth in the natural and social sciences, the growing awareness of patterns behind apparently random occurrences (probability theory), improvements in the conditions of life, in the communication systems and in human security as well as the growth of urban populations. These mental and technological changes allowed for a greater control of the environment. The concept of an orderly and rational universe developed leading to what Weber called 'the disenchantment of the world'. Christian piety had been affected by the emergence of 'modernity'.[1]

Sufism, the Islamic spiritual tradition, has had to respond to the growth of 'modernity' too. Sufism began as an individual's attempt to achieve a direct experience of God. This turned into small groups of like-minded people coming together for that

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[1] K. Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century England*, Penguin Books, London, 1988.

express purpose and gradually, from about the tenth century, it became an organised system. Different sufi orders, tariqas, developed, each of which centred on the particular teachings, rituals and methods for achieving union with God of the founding saint. A sufi order usually began as a local affair. The founder initiated a number of disciples, murids, into the tariqa. Those with great spiritual ability rose to senior positions in the hierarchy of the order and became his khalifas. The khalifas were then sent out to different areas to propagate the spiritual path there.

As the Islamic world expanded, sufis were at the fore-front of the process.[1] They played a crucial role in the Islamisation of new territory. To Muslim rulers they represented the local outposts of Islam. To the population at large they represented sources of power to all in need of superhuman intervention. They were open to people from all religious persuasions. This all-inclusive approach was the local face of Islam. It helped to integrate and spread Islam in the countryside. Sufi saints and orders could be found wherever there was a Muslim community. There were a number of international tariqas which spread from country to country like the Qadariya or the Naqshbandiya. There were also those orders specific to a country or a locality, the Chishtiya in South Asia for instance.

The nineteenth and twentieth centuries have represented major challenges to

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[1] See N. Levtzion, ed., *Conversion to Islam*, Holmes & Meier, New York, 1979. For South Asia see R.M. Eaton, *Sufis of Bijapur, 1300-1700: Social Roles of Sufis in Medieval India*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1978; Eaton, "The Political and Religious Authority of the Shrine of Baba Farid", in B.D. Metcalf, ed., *Moral Conduct and Authority: The Place of Adab in South Asian Islam*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1984, pp. 333-56; and Eaton, *The Rise of Islam and the Bengal Frontier, 1204-1760*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1994.

sufism. It had, on the one hand, to respond to the growth of the modern, often colonial, state, which established new forms of knowledge and new forms of order. It had, in addition, to respond to the emergence of Muslim movements of revival and reform, which saw, and still see, sufism as inimical to the capacity of Muslims to sustain an Islamic society. This was, and is, a context more hostile for sufism than ever experienced before.

Little research of real substance has been devoted to charting the responses of sufism to these challenges. There is some trailblazing work in the context of the Middle East, Africa and the 'Soviet Union'. Both Cruise O'Brien and Gilsenan have studied sufi orders which emerged within the period of, and as a response to, colonialism.[1] Both, the Mourides brotherhood of Senegal and the Hamidiya Shadhiliya of Egypt, offered a way of coping with colonial rule and the tensions created by dealing with the modern state. The Mourides did so by branching out into the economic sphere and creating for their followers an economic and spiritual system of stability. The Hamidiya Shadhiliya flourishing in an urban, lower middle-class setting offered (psychological) relief for the frustrations of employees in clerical positions. To survive, it packaged its spiritual tradition into sober, orthodox and law-bound terms, indistinguishable from the Islam of the reform movements.

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[1] D.B. Cruise O'Brien, *The Mourides of Senegal: The Political and Economic Organisation of an Islamic Brotherhood*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1971; Cruise O'Brien, "Charisma Comes to Town: Mouride Urbanization 1945-1986", in D.B. Cruise O'Brien and C. Coulon, eds., *Charisma and Brotherhood in African Islam*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1988, pp. 135-55; M. Gilsenan, *Saint and Sufi in Modern Egypt: An Essay in the Sociology of Religion*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1973; Gilsenan, *Recognizing Islam: An Anthropologist's Introduction*, Croom Helm, London, 1982.

While these two studies focus on sufi orders which were 'products of modernity' and could thus adapt more successfully to its challenges, both Eickelman and Ansari look at the fate of long-established spiritual traditions in the modern period.[1] Both the marabouts in Morocco and the pirs of Sind had served as mediators under Muslim rule between the court at the centre and the people in their locality. Both were incorporated into the mechanics/apparatus of colonial rule. The marabouts found themselves increasingly marginalised as, on the one hand, the colonial state began to circumscribe their political and economic function in society, and, on the other, the growing nationalist cause had been appropriated by reformist Muslims. The pirs of Sind, however, were active in the movement for Pakistan. They further helped to legitimise in Islamic terms the political system of Pakistan, something the marabouts were not called upon to do. The Sultan of Morocco had an Islamic identity of his own which could help legitimise the emerging modern state.

Sufi orders have also been studied in situations of direct political repression. Mardin and Bennigsen & Wimbush consider sufi orders in Turkey and the Soviet Union respectively which were in opposition to the political authorities.[2] They survived as keepers of the cultural and religious heritage, as networks of opposition and as

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[1] D.F. Eickelman, *Moroccan Islam: Tradition and Society in a Pilgrimage Center*, University of Texas Press, Austin, 1981; S.F.D. Ansari, *Sufi Saints and State Power: The pirs of Sind, 1843-1947*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1992.

[2] A. Bennigsen and S.E. Wimbush, *Mystics and Commissars: Sufism in the Soviet Union*, Hurst, London, 1985; Ş. Mardin, *Religion and Social Change in Modern Turkey: The Case of Bediüzzaman Said Nursi*, State University of New York Press, New York, 1989.

'facilitators' offering ways of understanding modernity. In all the studies mentioned so far sufi orders survived if they continued to be relevant to their followers' lives. They declined if they no longer provided services which were wanted.

No similar research has been undertaken on sufi institutions in India in the modern period. Currie's work on Mu'in al Din Chishti of Ajmer is devoted to the development of the cult and does not focus particularly on the shrine's relationship with the wider Muslim community.[1] India offers a special context for sufism to survive in. Apart from having to respond to the increasing presence of the British colonial state and the vigorous reform movements which developed in the nineteenth century, Muslims came to realise that they were as Muslims in a relatively weak position in a society that was overwhelmingly Hindu. The consequences of this in terms of the control of power became only visible from the late nineteenth century on with the introduction of democratic election processes. A further challenge for sufi orders was that with independence in 1947 British India was split into two separate units, one a designated homeland for Muslims and the other a Hindu majority country with a Muslim minority. This study tries to address the problem of how sufi institutions responded to the 'challenges of modernity' and Islamic reform in a context in which their support has been threatened and eroded.

We will focus on three sufi shrines based in Awadh in northern India. We will therefore look at how sufi institutions survived in a part of the country which was

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[1] P.M. Currie, *The Shrine and Cult of Mu'in al-din Chishti of Ajmer*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1989.

negatively affected in terms of Muslims by the population movements following Partition.[1] In the first chapter of this thesis a brief historical overview for the period and area will be given. The implications of 'modernity' for Indian society in general and for Muslims in particular will be set out. The frameworks and concepts of the modern state which was introduced, the new forms of law and legal processes, the new forms of order, the new forms of knowledge, the new concept of the body and the new methods of communication, will be analysed. We will focus especially on when 'modernity' arrived in the districts (Lucknow, Rai Bareli and Bara Banki) in which the three shrines are located.

Chapters 2, 3 and 4 will deal with the three spiritual traditions, that of Takiya Sharif, Kakori, of the Khanqah Karimiya, Salon, and of Haji Warith 'Ali Shah, Dewa. The three spiritual traditions will be considered under the aspects of their religious affiliations, the founding stories of their religious traditions, the family histories of the saints, the composition of their constituencies, the different systems of making disciples, the ways of the saints of ministering to their following, the workings of the saints' courts, the issue of how the office of the representative of the saint, sajjada nashin, was conducted and the inevitable problems of succession to that office as well as the funding of the shrines. Each of these three shrines offers a distinct spiritual tradition shaped by their constituency and their location.

After the three working spiritual traditions have been set out their responses to

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[1] In contrast to studies on sufi saints and institutions in Pakistan. See Ansari, *Sufi Saints and State Power*; and D. Gilmartin, *Empire and Islam: Punjab and the Making of Pakistan*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1989.

'modernity' will be examined. Chapter 5 will analyse the miracle stories of particularly Takiya Sharif, Kakori. It will show how the saints coped, or were seen by their followers to cope, with firstly the introduction of 'modernity' and secondly the introduction of colonialism. It will chart the areas of insecurity in the followers' lives, and in particularly the changing points of anxiety.

Chapter 6 will look at how the three spiritual traditions responded to the movements of revival and reform within Indian Islam. We will examine the rituals of the sufi institutions to gauge if, and in how far, these have been modified in the light of the criticism of the reformers. We will also consider the scholarly output of the sajjada nashins to establish if they engaged in the intellectual debate within the Muslim community on issues raised by the reformers.

The analysis of the three working spiritual traditions and their miracles stories will enable us to determine how successful they were in staying relevant for their followers' needs and thus in surviving in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In the process we hope to add to the scholarly understanding of Islamic responses to 'modernity'.

Chapter 1

The Context

Awadh was one of the more successful successor states of the Mughal Empire (1526-1858). It was governed by the Nawabs, and later Kings, of Awadh (1724-1856) who having combined the offices of revenue manager (diwan) and military governor (subadar) had created a powerful position which became hereditary within their family. Egged on by the English East India Company the Nawabs declared themselves independent of the Mughal Empire in 1819 but were deposed by the Company not forty years later in 1856. From then on Awadh was part of British India, up to 1877 as a separate province and thereafter as part of first the North-West Provinces and Oudh and then the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. With Independence in 1947 this administrative unit was roughly kept but renamed as Uttar Pradesh. For most of this period Lucknow, situated in the heart of Awadh, was its administrative centre.

The three shrines under consideration were all located in the districts around Lucknow. Takiya Sharif of Kakori, a qasbah populated by the service classes, was situated only 10 miles from the capital. Salon, the location of the Khanqah Karimiya, in Rai Bareli district, was with 60 miles placed furthest away from the centre of power. It was to be found on the road between Lucknow and Allahabad, capital of the province between 1877 and 1920. It was a qasbah in the middle of the Hindu heartland in the agricultural region of southern Awadh. Dewa, the birth and death place of Haji Warith 'Ali Shah, was located 23 miles from Lucknow in Bara Banki district, an agricultural region, which was also dotted with old service qasbahs.

All of these qasbahs were steeped in the Perso-Islamic traditions, they were the

habitat of the cultivated Persian- and Arabic-educated gentleman. The service-class families living there claimed to belong to extra-Indian Muslim lineages and were proud of their Persian or Arabic descent. They only married into similar families. This pride in their ancestry was combined with pride in their qasbahs; each qasbah was a very close-knit unit. The saintly families of all three shrines were drawn from the service classes and operated within the qasbah-environment. All three qasbahs were affected by the relatively slow decline of the Muslim small towns vis-á-vis the development of new, commercial towns, and by the overall decline of the service families vis-á-vis other groups of Indian society.[1] The most traumatic event for the service qasbahs and their Muslim inhabitants was not the imposition of colonial rule but Partition in 1947. With the migration of about two thirds of their ashraf Muslim inhabitants the 'qasbah-way' of life was effectively over.

The Relationship between State and Society

During the last three hundred years the nature of state power has changed. Mughal rule had been seen as

> a huge system of household government reinforced by an overwhelming but unwieldy military power. ... the empire was more than a mere umbrella raised over virtually autonomous local groups. It was more like a grid of imperial towns, roads and markets which pressed heavily on society and modified it, though only at certain points.[2]

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[1] C.A. Bayly, "The Small Town and Islamic Gentry in North India: the Case of Kara", in K. Ballhatchet and J. Harrison, eds., *The City in South Asia: Pre-Modern and Modern*, Curzon Press, London, 1980, pp. 20-48.

[2] C.A. Bayly, *Rulers, Townsmen and Bazaars: North Indian society in the age of British expansion, 1770-1870*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1988, p. 10.

The notion of territorial control had been very limited for the Mughal emperors, control of resources and men was of greater concern. Rights to revenue or trade were 'farmed out' and a ruler could in this way alienate much of his territory without affecting his position as potentate. The Mughal empire had been concerned to centralise power and in doing so had created a substantial bureaucratic apparatus which offered many able people employment, honours and land-grants. The empire survived because of military might and because it could satisfy the demands and aspirations of its 'collaborating' groups and classes. The empire fell apart when it could no longer fulfil these demands through territorial conquest or increase in agricultural production.

The successor states to the Mughal empire were successful because they could achieve what the 'unwieldy giant' had failed to do. They could penetrate society more deeply. They were able to deal not only with the top layers of society but could reach further down and were able to build up compact domains in agricultural core areas.[1]

Awadh is a point in case.[2] Its rulers, the Nawabs, adapted more successfully to the cultural traditions of their rural and Hindu subjects and although they were Shia Muslims by faith they spread honours and rewards among different ruling groups. They encouraged a pluralistic political and religious society. They succeeded in getting a closer hold on agricultural resources by deposing intermediary groups. They also began to stimulate trade and increased the flow of revenue from commercial taxes. Many of those

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[1] Much of the information for these paragraphs has been drawn from Bayly, *Rulers, Townsmen and Bazaars*, pp. 1-34.

[2] For the history of Awadh during the Nawabi see R.B. Barnett, *North India between Empires: Awadh, the Mughals and the British*, Manohar, Delhi, 1987; M.H. Fisher, *A Clash of Cultures: Awadh, the British and the Mughals*, Manohar, Delhi, 1987; A.H. Sharar, *Lucknow: The Last Phase of an Oriental Culture*, trans. and edited by E.S. Harcourt and F. Hussain, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1989.

in power founded new markets, ganjs, and settled peasant cultivators there.[1] Awadh in the mid-nineteenth century was littered with such market places. With more resources on hand the Nawabs attracted the service classes away from the Mughal centre and employed them in their own bureaucracy. The service classes then began increasingly to acquire landrights. This development had not been encouraged by the Mughals in the beginning, although later on they came to see the landholding service class as allies against local power holders. The service class expanded its hold on the land much more rapidly in the successor states.[2] This led to the development of an intermediary layer in society which diverted resources away from the Awadhi court. The emergence of the Mughal successor states in the eighteenth century led to the decentralisation of state power. This encouraged local growth and advantaged local power groups which led to a further decentralisation of power, this time of Nawabi power.

A second important agency of power which had emerged more forcefully in the eighteenth century was the East India Company. A trading company that was slowly expanding inwards into India from its coastal outposts and Bengal the Company was drawn into the 'farming out' system of the Mughal empire. The close association of royal power and trade in the Mughal successor states, termed the "commercialisation of royal power" thus making the Nawab of Awadh an "entrepreneur in power",[3] helped the Company penetrate India more deeply but led to the formal taking over of control. It

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[1] For instance the foundation of Tikaitnagar (1784) and Tikaitganj in Bara Banki district by Maharaja Tikait Rai, minister of Asaf al Dawla (for Tikait Rai see Chapter 2, 'The Founding Story of the Religious Tradition'). Or the foundation of Haidergarh in 1787 also in Bara Banki district by Haidar Beg Khan, prime minister of Asaf al Dawla. *DG Bara Banki* (1964), pp. 284, 270.

[2] Bayly, *Rulers, Townsmen and Bazaars*, pp. 350-1; Bayly, "The Small Town", p. 27.

[3] Bayly, *Rulers, Townsmen and Bazaars*, pp. 460, 26.

recruited all those government servants whose demands were not met in either the Mughal empire or one of the successor states. They supplied skills to the East India Company and became its allies. The English trading company turned itself into a bureaucratic (state) power. Its presence directly influenced the political development of Awadh and changed the nature of trade going on. From the late eighteenth century onwards India was drawn more and more into the world economy. Company rule was replaced by direct colonial rule following the annexation of Awadh and the 1857 Uprising.

The colonial state throughout the nineteenth century sought to be more successful than the Nawabi state in penetrating society and extracting resources. The colonial state introduced the framework of the modern state into India. Its peculiarity was that it moved increasingly towards dealing with each individual citizen directly. Whereas previous forms of state power had dealt with layers of hierarchically structured intermediaries which allowed for 'leakages' in the passing of power downwards and of revenue upwards, the modern state was concerned to draw each person within its remit, to control him directly and to extract financial dues at source. Through developing a bureaucratised administrative structure which operated independent of any charismatic personality the modern state was able to exert power and control over its citizens continuously and anonymously. Both, the direct state-person relationship and the continuity of state power, were made possible by the new forms of technology appearing during the same period.

In India the power of the modern state was hampered by the fact that it was mediated through the colonial state. As the colonial system needed groups in society which were prepared to work with it, intermediary groups were only slowly and unevenly discarded. Further the structures of the modern state were alien to society and it took some time for them to become indianised. What was introduced by the colonial state, or

increasingly championed by it, were new forms of law and legal processes, new forms of order, new forms of knowledge, a new concept of the body and new methods of communication.

This has to be seen within a changing political context. While initially Company rule simply replaced princely or imperial rule the colonial state began to draw slowly more and more people into the political arena. This was an immediate threat to the elite position of the Muslim community. Beginning with local government ever wider circles of voters were included in the electorate and from 1919 onwards with diarchy the political system itself became indianised. The 1935 Government of India Act allowed for popular elections of Indian parties to provincial governments and this was put into effect in the 1937. By the time independence was granted a fully fledged democratic political system was in place with all the obligations and responsibilities which this new state-society relationship implied. In theory, the transition which had taken place was that from a personalised, capricious ruler to a regulated political system. In practice, people or patrons continued to play an overwhelming role in Indian politics and patron-client relationships were conducted within the framework of political parties.

New Forms of Law and Legal Processes

Muslims in South Asia before the advent of colonial rule lived under a combination of the shari'a and local customary law. The shari'a was thought to be of divine inspiration and immutable. It was a set of standards to which society should aspire to. It was not an abstract code of law formulated by human beings in need of adaptation

to changes in social needs and ideals. The shari'a dealt with all aspects of human life including social and religious duties, matters of ritual and devotion as well as the more mundane areas of civil and criminal law. The dominant Sunni law school in India was that of Abu Hanifa[1]. The most important Hanafi law texts were the *Hidaya* of Burhan al Din Marghinani (twelfth century) and the *Fatawa Alamgiri*, a collection of extracts from authoritative Hanafi legal sources, compiled on the order of Awrangzib (r.1658-1707). Customary law existed in those areas in which Muslims, who had converted from Hinduism, were resident. It usually varied from the shari'a in matters such as inheritance and succession.[2]

Classical Islamic legal theory had evolved a concept of state in which government and law were kept largely separate from each other. This meant that the government could not use the law as an instrument of state policy while the law avoided being politicised. Islamic law was administered in the courts of the qazis. There was no appellate structure and no hierarchy of courts. The qazi's decision was final, in pronouncing his findings he created "reality".[3] The qazi in presiding over a case was first of all concerned to find out who the two parties in front of him were in terms of social origins and social identity. The underlying concepts of society were those of contract and negotiation. Every individual was concerned to enter into agreements with other people and thereby to weave a network of obligations which symbolised his connection to others. This web of obligations defined

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[1] Abu Hanifa (700-767) was the founder of one of the four legal schools within Sunni Islam. His opinions in legal judgements based on earlier sources are adhered to by those belonging to this school without consulting these earlier sources themselves.

[2] F. Robinson, *Islam in Modern South Asia*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, forthcoming, chapter 2.

[3] L. Rosen, *The Anthropology of Justice: Law as Culture in Islamic Society*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1989, pp. 37, 63.

the individual. The fundamental aim of the qazi was to return people to a position from which they could again begin to negotiate their own ties. At the centre of Islamic law therefore stood the individual with all his social traits. The verdict in each legal case was tailored to the individual situation although the underlying concepts which led to the outcome were similar. The legal system was not concerned with a series of antecedent concepts but with evaluating the consequences of people's actions.[1] "Kadi-justice" as it was called by Weber was about dispensing justice according to individual expediency. But Islamic law was not inconsistent or lacking reason. Its concepts were integrated within the cultural principles of society. Islamic law was never understood as an abstract code setting limits within which behaviour was to be confined.[2] It was an intensely personalistic law concerned about the individual. No two cases were seen as similar as the participants in the cases were not the same. Islamic law like Islamic medicine was 'holistic' in its approach, it saw the individual within the wider setting of society.

In the decade after the imposition of colonial rule Britain introduced British civil and criminal law into India replacing the shari'a in those areas. Among the laws introduced were the Indian Penal Code, the Code of Criminal Procedure, the Succession Act and the Evidence Act. Even before the formal take-over both criminal and civil Islamic law had been encroached upon. With the new law codes came also a different legal machinery. Magistrates replaced qazis. Up to 1864 these were assisted by muftis in pronouncing judgements derived from the shari'a. A hierarchy of courts was introduced with appeals to the Privy Council being allowed from 1858. Because precedents were

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[1] Rosen, *Anthropology of Justice*, p. 45.

[2] T. Mitchell, *Colonizing Egypt*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1988, p. 101.

considered binding in British law once a judgement had been made, however much it was distorting the shari'a, it influenced subsequent decisions. Moreover, the magistrates used the legal concepts of justice, equity and good conscience when giving shari'a-based judgements. What evolved was a particular legal hybrid, the Anglo-Muhammadan Law which from the 1860s onwards was Muslim Personal Law only.

The colonial state in administering the personal law did not always understand the traditional system it was drawing from. Not only were customary practices elevated above the shari'a in laws passed in the 1870s but modern scientific concepts were also given precedent over it. The Evidence Act of 1872 in which the long-established notion in Islamic law that a pregnancy could run for substantially longer than nine months was challenged was one such example. The shari'a understanding of determining the legitimacy of a child according to the time of conception was replaced by the English criterion of using the time of birth. Another issue of contention was the concept of waqf. Misinterpreting the concept of waqf, charitable endowment, the Indian High Court in 1894 declared illegal waqfs made out for the benefit of one's children, their descendants and only ultimately the poor. The Privy Council upheld this ruling on appeal. It was not until 1913 that the Mussulman Wakf Validation Bill was passed in the Central Legislative Assembly.[1]

Groups in society began to use more and more the legal and administrative machinery for their own ends. In the twentieth century the ulama became increasingly

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[1] Robinson, *Islam in Modern South Asia*, chapter 2.
The issue of the legitimacy of waqfs exercised the Muslim community quite considerably. Even among the maktubat included in the biography of one of the Kakori saints there was a letter about this issue. There the saint reassured the questioner that indeed such a waqf was legal. Muhammad 'Ali Haidar 'Alawi, *Al Fikr al Gharib be Zikr al Habib* (known as *Tazkira Habibi*) [hereafter: 'Alawi, *Habibi*], Lucknow, 1941/2, II, pp. 440-1.

aware of Muslim communities living under customary rather than Anglo-Muhammadan law. They demanded that the Muslim personal law was imposed upon them by the state. By the 1940s Anglo-Muhammadan law as Muslim Personal Law was extended to more people than before the arrival of the colonial power.

The colonial state, and even more so independent India, used western law for political ends, for the redistribution of resources (e.g. Zamindari Abolition) and to create a particular political order (socialist).[1] While Islamic law had concentrated on the individual and in its structures had been concerned with society as it found it, western law with its close links to government was used to redirect and reshape society.

The British legal system was a code of rules for the community. It was man-made and was changeable according to how society developed. It was also used by the state to direct and mould society. It was a system which was based on the idea of equality, the law would not consider the social and biological characteristics of a person when deliberating a case. Indeed, equality before the law and therefore, theoretically, fairness for all, was one of the most important features of the judicial system. The court would come to the same verdict in any number of different legal cases in which the same issues were at stake. Western law put increasing emphasis on procedure, codes and appellate hierarchy. The legal system began to move its emphasis away from oral evidence to technical, material evidence which was seen as more reliable as it could not lie. The move in general was away from the individual and personalistic to the impersonal and systematic.

In Awadh British law became the law of the land with annexation. In the aftermath of the 1857 Uprising the administrative and legal system which was introduced was highly personalised. What was introduced was a system in which

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[1] Rosen, *Anthropology of Justice*, p. 61.

> executive authority was concentrated in the hands of single individuals, the Commissioner and the Deputy Commissioner, in all fields - revenue, police, magistracy and judicial.[1]

This was the Punjabi model which was considered more suitable after the Uprising.[2] As the case load of the civil court increased a separate Civil Judge was appointed in 1861. The courts were reorganised in 1871 and in 1879 a hierarchy of regular courts, those of Munsif, Subordinate Judge, District Judge and Judicial Commissioner was established. Courts were generally divided into those for civil, criminal and revenue matters. With the creation of the District Judge the District Commissioner lost his judicial function. Following the reselection of Lucknow as capital of the province, the Judicial Commissioner's court was converted into the Chief Court in 1925 with the same powers as the Allahabad High Court. After independence the Chief Court was abolished but the Allahabad High Court had a separate bench at Lucknow.[3] In 1950 the judicial function of the magistrates were separated dividing them into two categories, judicial and executive. The system favoured after the Uprising was one focused on strong individuals in key administrative positions. As the province 'settled down' a more refined judicial system was put in place drawing ever more people into the judicial machinery becoming more complex and more specialised.

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[1] *DG Lucknow* (1959), p. 280.

[2] In the words of one district officer:
"Personal government was the only form of rule which the rude and simple Panjabis could understand, therefore the ideal Magistrate must show himself to all his people continually, must decide cases either sitting on horseback in the village gateway, or under a tree outside the village walls, ..."
J. Beames, *Memoirs of a Bengal Civilian*, Chatto & Windus, London, 1961, pp. 102-3.
This image was surprisingly close to the much beloved Orientalist notion of the qazi holding court under a palm tree.

[3] *DG Lucknow* (1959), pp. 280-1.

New Forms of Order

What the modern, here colonial, state was very much concerned about was the imposition of order. The first thing the state undertook in Awadh, after the 1857 Uprising had been quelled, was to put in place an effective police force. For the first few years a military corps was used as civil police but with the 1861 Police Act the civil police was separated from the military. The focus set by the colonial state for the police force was to 'keep the country quiet', to prevent uprisings, riots and strikes. It was less concerned with other forms of crime prevention or their solution. This was also expressed through the fact that the colonial power decided to employ a smaller but better equipped force able to maintain stability and calm, but that it reduced the number of people concerned with the guarding of property.[1]

Order as expressed through a well-policed province was only one form of order. Order was also expressed through town-planning. The colonial state was confronted with traditional cities which had grown without a 'master-plan' as densely populated areas wit narrow and winding lanes and alleys which had blind curves and were partly encroached upon by shops. For the colonial state it was important to structure and to order these areas of "human agglomeration"[2] as they were difficult to police and were considered to be the hotbeds of crime and disease. In Lucknow in the twenty years after 1857 a lot of the inner town area had been 'cleared' and several broad and straight avenues were built through the old town. Designed to open-up the crowded areas and to impose some sort of order

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[1] V.T. Oldenburg, *The Making of Colonial Lucknow, 1856-1877*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1984, pp. 64-75.

[2] Mitchell, *Colonizing Egypt*, p. 67.

on the muddled town they cut right across houses, religious buildings and cemeteries.[1] The newly laid out streets became a framework for the city; it was an expression and achievement of intellectual orderliness, social tidiness and physical cleanliness.[2] In the parts of town newly created by the colonial state, the civil lines area and those that contained government buildings, the new order was graphically represented. Roads there ran in straight lines and houses were built in demarcated plots at uniform intervals. What was displayed were order and rationality.

Order was seen as a cast of mind with which the colonial subjects were to be imbued. The new order was an abstract plan which enframed things. It was not implicit in the object it was ordering. As an example for this might serve the timetable according to which the curriculum was taught at any sufi shrine. There the process of learning was implicit in the timetable. The process of learning began with the study of the Quran, then the hadiths, then commentaries on the Quran and other subjects dealing with its interpretation, then studies related to the reading of the hadiths, then principles of theology, and so on until in the final part the study of sufism was dealt with. The timetable for student and teacher mirrored this learning process: the first lesson of the day after dawn prayer was on the Quran. This was followed by lessons on the hadiths, Quranic interpretation, and so on, working outwards to the study of mysticism which took place after the evening prayer.[3] The order of teaching stood therefore not separate from what it ordered. It was not order for its own sake.[4]

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[1] Oldenburg, *Colonial Lucknow*, pp. 29-34.

[2] Mitchell, *Colonizing Egypt*, p. 63.

[3] For this see *ibid.*, p. 83.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 85.

The new order stood apart. For instance, the way in which the day was structured changed. Time was no longer ordered according to prayer times, which were part of the events of the day, but according to the western, twenty-four-hour clock, an artificial method of time precisioning. Timetables became important as mechanised transport developed forcing people to strict time frames set from outside. The colonial state ordered and counted things to facilitate their integration into, and their usefulness to, the state machinery. Population censuses took place every decade from 1881 onwards, cattle and other livestock were counted at more irregular intervals. Births and deaths were registered. All these figures were turned into statistics. Record keeping, the collection of data, became one of the important tools of the colonial/modern state in managing its citizens.

The imposition of this new form of order on the people was an attempt to combat the 'chaos' and 'irrationality' associated with traditional society. It was a way of 'colonising the mind' of people, of not only introducing new frameworks of order for society but of transplanting these new frameworks inside the people. Order was not to be achieved solely through pressure from above but was to be generated by the people from within.

New Forms of Knowledge

Traditions of scholarship and learning had been deeply rooted in the qasbah culture of Awadh. The modern colonial state brought with it forms and structures of knowledge developed in Europe since the enlightenment. What was introduced were scientific and rational ways of thinking which were disseminated in society through education and

through print.

The traditional style of learning had been intensely personal. In teaching institutions like Farangi Mahal in Lucknow family members taught students in their own homes. The student read a book with his teacher and received an ijazat, a licence, from him certifying that he had mastered that particular book. He would then move on to the next teacher and book. The written text was only passed on under oral supervision and had been passed on in this way since being written. This method of teaching involved one-to-one relationships between the instructor and the student without a fixed curriculum, in which the teaching content could be tailored to the individual demands.

The hallmark of the modern schools introduced by the British was their bureaucratised style. The schools had paid employees, set courses and series of exams. Hundreds of students could be processed through this system simultaneously with everybody learning the same things.

The districts in which the three shrines were located, Bara Banki, Rai Bareli and Lucknow, experienced different degrees of educational penetration. The education department in Awadh was set up in 1864. But even before then 'modern' schools were founded in the districts. In Bara Banki district six tahsili schools had opened in 1860 as well as the Anglo-Vernacular High School. In 1864 primary schools were opened. In 1896/7 there were 116 primary schools and 8 schools for middle and higher education. By 1957/8 this had risen to 520 primary schools, 37 junior high schools and 10 higher secondary schools. Literacy rates rose slowly. In 1911 4.3 per cent of men were literate, by 1951 this had risen to 10.2 per cent. For women the figures were 0.27 per cent and 1.5 per cent respectively.[1] In Rai Bareli district the history of education on modern lines began

[1] *DG Bara Banki* (1964), pp. 215-21.

in 1861. The zila school was opened (later the Government High School) and by 1864 three tahsili schools had been added. In 1901/2 there were 154 primary schools and 7 junior high schools, in 1961 there were 517 primary schools and 73 senior basic schools. Salon had a tahsili school in 1864. Literacy rates for Rai Bareli district rose from 6.5 per cent for men and 0.03 per cent for women in 1911 to 22.3 per cent for men and 3.8 per cent for women in 1961.[1] Lucknow, of course, was a centre for education and apart from featuring many schools became the seat of a university in 1920.[2] Kakori had an Anglo-Vernacular school by the early 1870s.[3] Modern education began to spread into the districts from the 1860s onwards. Although the number of schools increased rapidly it reached only a relatively small number of people in over-all terms.

Increasingly indigenous groups began to emulate the structures of British-style institutions. There was Deoband, the religious seminary which, although teaching an Islam that could operate entirely outside the framework of the colonial state, adopted many of the features of modern educational institutions. Deoband had a designated school building, paid staff, a central library, a set course for students to take and a number of examinations to be passed. It was funded not like traditional institutions through charitable endowments or hand-outs from princes but by public subscription.[4] The advantage which these bureaucratised institutions had was also seen by Hakim 'Abd al 'Aziz of Lucknow when

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[1] *DG Rai Bareli* (1976), pp. 202-3.

[2] *DG Lucknow* (1959), p. 317.

[3] NWP&O, GAD (Education A), 1-5, March 1877, P/838, IOR.

[4] B. Metcalf, "The Madrasa at Deoband: A Model for Religious Education in Modern India", *Modern Asia Studies*, 12:1 (1978), p. 112.

he set up his Islamic medical college, Takmil al Tibb, on the same blue-print.[1] The systematised institutions were not only recognised as being more stable, and hence as having a higher rate of survival, but also more effective in pursuing their goal of teaching large numbers of students.

The introduction and spread of the printing press helped the systematisation of education. Through printing and disseminating books learning and knowledge was transmitted to an audience without personal contact with an expert on the subject. Knowledge was no longer transmitted in an oral tradition dominated by sounds but through the written word and thus dominated by ordered, visual space. While knowledge transmitted orally was involved and neither abstract nor objective, knowledge transmitted by written text became distanced, objective and could be analysed. Knowledge became depersonalised.[2]

The printed book in the West was infused with a certain (visual) order, there was a title page, a contents page and a preface all of which enframed the actual text within it.[3] The Islamic form of writing did not have this external structure. There after the title the text began immediately with praises to God. The pages themselves were not as 'fixed' as in printed books. A text was usually accompanied by a commentary written between the lines with a further gloss on the commentary in the margins surrounding the text on all sides. The page was a living page, a page on which work was in progress, which carried

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[1] S. Zillurrahman and T. Siddiqi, "The 'Azizi Family of Physicians", *Studies in History of Medicine and Science*, 7:1 (1983), pp. 35-9.

[2] F. Robinson, "Islam and the Impact of Print in South Asia", in N. Crook, ed., *The Transmission of Knowledge in South Asia: Essays on the Social Agenda*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, forthcoming.

[3] Mitchell, *Colonizing Egypt*, p. 148.

the intellectual traces of its readers with it. Knowledge was alive and active.

From the beginning of the nineteenth century onwards printing presses were widely used by Indian Muslims. Newspapers flourished and books were published. The traditional religious source texts were translated into the vernacular languages and made available to a larger audience. To the changes in mental conception of knowledge brought on by print were added those mental changes brought on by the spread of western education and rational ways of thinking. Traditional knowledge persisted but the new tools brought by 'modernity' allowed it to be modified, analysed and conceptualised.

New Concept of the Body

Classical Islamic theory saw the human body as an extension of the soul. Human beings were the microcosm which mirrored the universe, the macrocosm. Both were considered to have a body and a soul. The cosmic soul governed the universe, the human soul the individual.[1] Cosmic forces affected the human being and so did other creatures. People were seen to live in harmony with the environment and were influenced by it. The concepts of harmony and balance were central to Islam.[2]

Islamic medicine used the same concepts when dealing with health and illness. For the body to be healthy there had to be a harmony of constituent parts internally and it had to be in harmony with its surroundings. The underlying theory of Islamic medicine was

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[1] D. Brandenburg, *Islamic Miniature Painting in Medical Manuscripts*, Editiones <Roche>, Basle, 1984, p. 9

[2] This had been taken over from Greek philosophy, Plato, Aristotle, Galen and Hippocrates.

that of humoural pathology. There were four humours in the body, blood, phlegm, yellow and black bile. The humours were present in a mixture unique to each individual which defined his character. Sickness was caused by an unbalance in the humour mixture. This could be brought about by external factors such as climate, food or way of life. To cure an illness the previous humour balance had to be reestablished. Drugs were also seen to have specific temperaments. Each drug was designed specifically for the patient to restore his humoural balance. Islamic medicine was holistic in approach. It was also intensely personalistic in that each human being was seen as unique in his composition and required treatment put together especially for him.[1]

The nineteenth century European notions of the body, health and illness were different from these traditional Islamic concepts. Still, humoural pathology was only really discarded in Europe in the first half of the nineteenth century. Two rival medical theories explaining disease replaced it, the germ theory and the theory of miasmas. Both discarded the notions of harmony and balances within the human body and with forces outside of it. They began to look upon the body as a physical machine and on disease as a mechanical process with cause and effect.[2] Huge technical advances were made in western medicine[3] from the second half of nineteenth century onwards. Medical equipment became more refined, the manufacturing process of drugs became standardised. There were major advances in the various medical fields. The nature of western medicine was systematised. Drugs, for instance, were not made up for the individual, standardised treatment was

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[1] See C. Liebeskind, "Unani Medicine of the Subcontinent", in J. van Alphen, ed., *Oriental Medicine: An Illustrated Guide to the Eastern Arts of Healing*, Serindia Publications, London, forthcoming.

[2] Mitchell, *Colonizing Egypt*, p. 99.

[3] 'Western medicine' is used for want of a better word.

designed to fit all.

Western medicine was championed by the colonial state. It represented the European superiority in the medical sphere. Traditional forms of medicine were no longer encouraged by the colonial state. It was only from the 1920s on when Indian politicians and parties became involved in the governing of British India that state funding was made available for Islamic medicine. Independent India continued to fund both western and traditional medicine. In the beginning the influence of western medicine on the population of India was confined to the European element and the army. It was not until the early twentieth century that it became more widely available and began to compete with Islamic medicine on the 'open market'.[1]

Western medicine and medical institutions represented a challenge to Islamic medicine. The rapid professionalisation which western medicine had undergone in the nineteenth century served as an example for Islamic medicine. Hakims, the practitioners of Islamic medicine, set up medical colleges with "paid staff and fixed requirements to replace the personalistic informal settings of family homes and apprenticeships."[2] These schools and colleges had boards of governors and fixed curricula to ensure a certain medical standard. A good example was the Takmil al Tibb College in Lucknow founded in 1902. Hakims also formed national organisations like the All-India Unani Tibbi Conference set up in 1906. Islamic medicine copied the bureaucratisation and systematisation of western medicine and western medical institutions.

Medical facilities were provided to different extends in the three 'shrine-districts'.

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[1] Liebeskind, "Unani medicine".

[2] B.D. Metcalf, "Nationalist Muslims in British India: The Case of Hakim Ajmal Khan", *Modern Asian Studies*, 19:1 (1985), p. 4.

Lucknow was an important medical centre. It was one of the two centres of Islamic medicine in northern India. During the Nawabi period it attracted many hakims who set up practice there. King Nasir al Din Haidar (r.1827-37) built the first hospital dedicated to western medicine in Lucknow. After the annexation a number of hospitals, sponsored by Christian missionaries, large landowners or by public subscription in honour of important people, were set up. In 1951 there were 716 doctors trained in western medicine in Lucknow district.[1] In Bara Banki district there were the district and women's hospital apart from the jail and police hospital. The district had also 18 western medical dispensaries as well as four Islamic medical ones. In 1951 there were 129 'western' doctors in the district.[2] In Rai Bareli district the three 'western' hospitals located in Rai Bareli had all been established between 1883 and 1900. There were 16 'western' dispensaries in 1961, there were also 51 'western' doctors in the district.[3] Apart from these there existed an Islamic medical hospital in Lucknow and Islamic medical dispensaries in all three districts. A dual system had developed with institutions for western and Islamic medical education and medical relief co-existing.

New Methods of Communication

For the modern state to reach down effectively to each individual subject it had to have the means to do so. The break-through in the technology of communication during

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[1] *DG Lucknow* (1959), pp. 340-6.

[2] *DG Bara Banki* (1964), pp. 236-7, 149.

[3] *DG Rai Bareli* (1976), pp, 134, 214.

the nineteenth century made this possible. During the Nawabi period the road network in Awadh was not well developed. Those roads which existed were 'fair-weather' roads not easily manageable in the rainy season. People moved along on them either on foot, on animal or by animal-drawn carriage. Trade routes ran through Awadh from east to west, Jaunpur to Delhi, and from north to south, from the Nepali foothills to the Ganges. Goods were transported by bullock-cart for short distances and by boat for long distances. Rivers and canals ran through Awadh and merchandise for Calcutta was shipped there by boat. Information, letters, were carried by messengers. The movement of people, goods and information depended on non-mechanised transport.

For the colonial state it became very important to have good lines of communication in order to control the province effectively. The need for this had been re-emphasised by the 1857 Uprising. Roads, both metalled and unmetalled, were constructed. The first metalled road in Awadh connected Kanpur with Lucknow in 1859. 1861 saw the construction of the Oudh Trunk Road from Lucknow to Faizabad.[1] To get an idea of the increase in roads we will look at Rai Bareli district, home of the Khanqah Karimiya, in detail. In 1858 there was one unmetalled road between Lucknow and Rai Bareli. By 1870 there were 17 roads with the length of 531.2 km. The road from Rai Bareli to Dalmau (27.7 km) was the only metalled one. By 1903 the length of roads totalled 940.8 km of which 190.4 km were metalled. The district headquarters, Rai Bareli, was at the junction of ten roads and connected with all tahsil headquarters with metalled roads. By March 1973 there were 680 km of metalled roads.[2]

The construction of the railway network stems from the 1860s. The first line was

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[1] *DG Lucknow* (1959), p. 177; *DG Bara Banki* (1964), p. 134.

[2] *DG Rai Bareli* (1976), pp. 121-2.

that connecting Lucknow with Kanpur. It opened in April 1867. The line between Lucknow and Faizabad went into operation in 1872, as did the line from Lucknow to Sandila and beyond. In 1886 Lucknow was connected with Mahona, Bara Banki and beyond.[1] Lucknow became linked with Rai Bareli in 1893 and with Mughalsarai in 1898. During the period 1927-31 the line linking Rai Bareli with Allahabad and Kanpur was constructed.[2] The road and railway net spread through all the districts, they linked tahsil headquarters with the district headquarters, the district headquarters with Lucknow and tied in Lucknow with the important industrial and military centres outside of Awadh.

The means of transport introduced allowed for society to become more mobile. The Indian population took to railway travel in large numbers; it became the most popular means for long-distance travel. Designed for local travel were bicycles. They went into wider use in the 1920s. With them arrived also the cycle rickshaw. They were the means to open up the immediate hinterland of cities and towns. Although they were not cheap they allowed for a larger section of society to travel daily longer distances from their home. In the twentieth century the invention of the internal combustion engine revolutionised the means of travel. Those with money acquired cars. Their number was relatively small though until the 1980s. A passenger bus service was introduced into the districts from 1947 onwards. Bus travel increased in popularity for short and medium length journeys. The transport of goods had to a large extent moved onto the railways. During the Second World War lorries were introduced into the province first for short-distance and later also for long-distance transport.[3] The fastest means of communication

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[1] *DG Lucknow* (1959),pp. 183, 185.

[2] *DG Rai Bareli* (1976), p. 129.

[3] *DG Lucknow* (1959), p. 182.

for people was civil aviation. Lucknow had one airport which was serviced daily by Indian Airlines. There had also been two airports in Rai Bareli district during World War Two. One of them was closed after the war while the other was kept open for planes of VIPs.[1] The communication networks made up of road and railway and civil aviation have all enabled people to be much more 'on the move', thus allowing them to pursue their search for jobs at ever greater distances and allowing goods to be distributed over a much wider area. Rural and urban areas became more closely linked while the province itself became much closer integrated into the Indian state.

The means for transporting information have also changed dramatically. The postal system was improved and extended throughout Awadh. The speed with which letters were carried increased when runners and mail-carts were replaced by trains for covering longer distances. Within the districts buses, ekkas and runners carried the post to its destination. The number of post offices rose steadily. In Lucknow district there were 30 post offices in 1910, in 1957 there were 130. By 1980 this had increased to 416.[2] Similar increases were visible in Bara Banki district where the number rose from 71 post offices in 1940 to 283 in 1978[3] and Rai Bareli district where it rose from 165 post offices in 1961 to 246 in 1969[4].

The telegraph was introduced into Awadh in 1858 with the first line connecting Lucknow and Kanpur. The telegraph was later followed by the telephone which began to weave an ever denser net of electronic communications. By the late 1950s there were 15

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[1] *DG Rai Bareli* (1976), p. 128.

[2] *DG Lucknow* (1959), p. 187; *DG Sup. Lucknow* (1988), p. 50.

[3] *DG Bara Banki* (1964), p. 144; *DG Sup. Bara Banki* (1988), p. 42.

[4] *DG Rai Bareli* (1976), p. 132.

telegraph offices in Lucknow district and 11 telephone public call offices. In 1979/80 there were 46 public call offices and 16,210 telephone connections.[1] In Bara Banki district in the early 1960s there were 12 telegraph offices and 7 public call offices. In 1978 there were 490 telephones.[2] Rai Bareli district, in 1969, had 12 telegraph offices and 13 public call boxes.[3]

The population in the districts became also connected with the outside world through radio, television and cinemas. All-India Radio came to Lucknow in 1938. Radio sets were bought in the beginning only by the richer groups within society, by the 1970s the number of individual licences granted had risen to a certain extent. In Bara Banki district 22,653 radio licences had been granted, in Lucknow district 116,086 in 1978.[4] In order to take the radio programmes into the rural areas many rural communities have been given battery-run radio sets for community listening.[5] Television came to Lucknow city in the late 1960s. Its impact on the whole of the population was limited even in the late 1980s. Cinemas could be found in all three districts. From the late 1980s onwards videos and satellite TV have given those who can afford it access to information from outside India.

The sufi shrines, too, were not opposed to using these modern means of communication when reaching out to their relatively dispersed murid community. The festivities of the Mela Katik of Dewa Sharif have been transmitted on All-India Radio

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[1] *DG Lucknow* (1959), p. 187-8; *DG Sup. Lucknow*, p. 50.

[2] *DG Bara Banki* (1964), pp. 144-5; *DG Sup. Bara Banki* (1988), p. 42.

[3] *DG Rai Bareli* (1976), p. 132.

[4] *DG Sup. Bara Banki* (1988), p. 43; *DG Sup. Lucknow* (1988), p. 50.

[5] *DG Bara Banki* (1964), pp. 71, 222.

since the 1960s and since the coming of Doordarshan to Lucknow they have also been televised.[1] Many of the 'urs celebrations are being recorded on video and then sent out to that part of the following who could not be present for the occasion.[2] Sama' has been put on audio tapes for a long time. And yet all this seems to accord the events at sufi shrines a different value, much more that of entertainment and less that of spiritual achievement.

All these new and improved methods of communication have allowed for speedier physical and mental contact. They allowed the much more direct state-citizen relationship to develop. The state controlled the provision of information in terms of the broadcasting media until the emergence of extra-national media systems in the late 1980s. Through radio and television the state could reach right down into all those households having access to these appliances. The state could also transmit information much more speedily from one area to another for its own use and it could move its army from location to location if this became necessary. For the population the new methods of communication meant the ability to move further and further away from their home town in search of jobs. They gave access to the cities around which commuter belts developed serviced by both rail and road. The development of telegraph and telephones as well as the improvement in the postal service enabled those far away from home to remain in contact. The contact maintained though was one less intense than before. The new means of communication often stretched personal contact to its limits. Sometimes it stretched too far and the lines were broken.

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[1] Interview with Mr.C.A. Waris, Assistant Secretary of the Haji Waris Ali Shah Mausoleum Trust, 15-17 August 1992.

[2] Personal observation at the Khanqah Niyaziya, Bareilly, UP, December 1991.

The emergence of the modern state, modernity, affected Indian society. The structures imposed by 'modernity' were those designed for a society based on systems. Indian society began to adapt to these structures and systems and began to adapt the structures and systems to their own notions of society. The patron-client relationship which had been all important in pre-modern Indian society was incorporated into the systems. The systematisation was therefore weak. Systems had only grown feebly and continued to be a 'source of puzzlement'. Many of the new 'aspects of modernity', for instance medicine and education, were duplicating already existing traditional forms. As they were associated with colonial rule their indianisation did not always occur smoothly.

The new 'aspects of modernity' created, in the first instance, a separate world, the world of the big cities. There both 'modernity' and colonial rule were comfortably established. Whereas before the cities and the countryside had been in relative harmony with each other, the bigger towns became increasingly linked to the outside world in terms of communications and trade. The world of the shrine was a prime example for pre-modern society. Sufism was the ultimate in person-to-person relations. With the growth of 'modernity' the world of the shrines in most cases though not in all became increasingly out of harmony with that of the cities.

Chapter 2

Kakori:

A Spiritual Tradition for the Service Classes

The Setting

Set in the midst of mango groves Kakori was the most important service qasbah in the environs of Lucknow. A place of considerable antiquity it featured a relatively large number of brick-houses, baradaris and schools, mosques, Muslim tombs and shrines. In history and appearance it very much conformed to the classic description given of a qasbah:

> A Musulman settlement in a defensible military position, generally on the site of an ancient Hindu headquarters, town or fort, where, for mutual protection, the Musulmans who had overrun and seized the proprietary of the surrounding villages resided; where the faujdar and his troops, the pargana qanungo and chaudhri, the mufti, qazi and other high dignitaries lived; and, as must be the case where the wealth and power of the Moslem sect was collected in one spot, a large settlement of Sayyads' mosques, dargahs, etc. sprang up...[1]

Kakori's location, eight miles from the district headquarters, allowed it to be the main commuter town in the Lucknow catchment area. Roughly half the population were Muslims[2] mainly engaged in government service in the various governments existing within India. While the men worked in different places their families would remain in the

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[1] Judgement in the "Amethi Case", quoted in *Gazetteer of the Province of Oudh*, II, Allahabad, 1877, p. 312.

[2] *CI-UP*, Vol. XVI, Part II, Table V, for 1891, 1901, 1921, 1931.

secure sanctuary of the qasbah.[1] Kakori was tied into the transport network by both railway and road giving its inhabitants easy access to the administrative centre Lucknow while allowing them to preserve the 'qasbah-way of life' complete with cultural traditions shared between Muslim and Hindu service families.

On the outskirts of the town were the buildings of Takiya Sharif, the most elaborate and successful of the many sufi shrines which had flourished in Kakori over the ages. Having originally been built on the fringe of Kakori to allow for some seclusion for the founding saint, the town had gradually expanded and crept up on the shrine.

Religious Affiliation

From the late twelfth century onwards sufi orders began to penetrate northern India. The first orders to establish themselves were the Chishtiya and the Suhrawardiya arriving from Central Asia and the Middle East. The predominant sphere of influence of the Suhrawardi silsila was in the western corner of the Indian subcontinent in Sind, the Punjab and Gujarat. The Chishtiya in contrast, beginning in the fourteenth century, branched out from its north Indian centres and spread over the whole of India. This early penetration of the subcontinent allowed the Chishtiya, the only truly Indian sufi order, to develop roots almost everywhere and turned it into a silsila with nation-wide appeal. Close on the heels of these two orders came other tariqas into India, the Kubrawiya for example or the Shattariya. None of them though was able to match the Chishtiya in its spread and

[1] W.H.Sleeman, *Journey through the Kingdom of Oude in 1849-50*, Helicon Publications, reprint, Lucknow, 1989, I, p. 10.

Table: The Founder and the Sajjada Nashins of Takiya Sharif

Shah Muhammad Kazim Qalandar
(1745-1806)

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Shah Turab 'Ali Qalandar
(1767/8-1858)

■

Shah Haidar 'Ali Qalandar
(1791-1868)

■

Shah 'Ali Akbar Qalandar
(1833-1896)

■

Shah 'Ali Anwar Qalandar
(1853-1906)

■

Shah Habib Haidar Qalandar
(1882-1935)

■

Shah Taqi Haidar Qalandar
(1890-1940)

■

Shah 'Ali Haidar Qalandar
(1893-1947)

■

Shah Mustafa Haidar
(1923-)

growth. Two of those sufi orders who came relatively late to India were still able to make an impact on their host country. Both the Qadariya arriving in the fifteenth century and the Naqshbandiya coming in the sixteenth century were 'international' orders branches of which developed in India. The most important Naqshbandi centre was in Delhi from were the sufis directly influenced the developments at the Mughal court. They had no great regional manifestations. The Qadariya was more widely found in India, in the Deccan, in and around Delhi and in Bengal. It was also an order which was important under the Mughals counting Dara Shikoh as a follower. Sufi orders criss-crossed the Indian subcontinent from the twelfth century; some becoming deeply embedded in much of society others being more limited in their spread and appeal.[1]

Awadh during this time mirrored the sufi developments of the subcontinent at large. There were many Chishti centres in the area of the later UP and Awadh. Both of its main branches, the Nizamis and the Sabris, were well represented around Lucknow.[2] Most of the other tariqas, like Shattariya and Suhrawardiya, were present too. In the seventeenth century the Qadariya particularly experienced a mild revival of its fortunes through the work of Shaikh 'Abd al Razzaq Banswi (1636/7-1724) who was active in many qasbahs of the region.[3] Awadh was also notable for the considerable number of bi-shar orders which could be encountered. Groupings of the Azadiya or the Qalandariya could be found, but the most widespread was the Madariya. Established in the fifteenth

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[1] For more information see S.A.A. Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, 2 Vols., Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi, 1986.

[2] Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, chapter 5.

[3] F. Robinson, "Scholarship and mysticism in early 18th century Awadh", A.L. Dallapiccola and S. Zingel-Avé Lallemant, eds., *Islam and Indian Regions*, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart, 1993, p. 387.

century its centre was the shrine of Shah Madar at Makanpur. Only the Madariya could be considered to have any significant support. In the late nineteenth century in Northern India its initiated followers constituted 2.3 per cent of the Muslim population.[1]

The Khanqah Kazimiya in Kakori belonged to both the Qadariya and Qalandariya tariqas. Over time the emphasis within their silsila had shifted from the Qalandariya to the Qadariya. At least since the times of Shah Basit 'Ali Qalandar (1702/3-1782) bai'at was given predominantly in the Qadari tariqa.[2] The compromise reached by Muhammad Kazim and his descendants was that they were men of the Qadariya by tariqat but had the behaviour of the Qalandariya.[3] Their main line of spiritual descent was traced back via Allahabad and Laharpur to Jaunpur where a Qalandari shrine had existed since before the emergence of the Sharqi kingdom (1394-1495). Apart from this distinct line the sajjada nashins of Takiya Sharif had a multiplicity of other spiritual relationships; an inventory of the 1930s showed no less than 80 separate ways in 16 tariqas of connecting the then sajjada nashin with the Prophet.[4] Five of these silsilas, the Chishtiya, Suhrawardiya, Firdawsiya, Taifuriya and Madariya, had been handed down together along with the main Qalandari-Qadari line from Jaunpur. The one important order which Shah Muhammad

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[1] J.R.I. Cole, *Roots of North Indian Shi'ism in Iran and Iraq: Religion and State in Awadh, 1772-1859*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1989, pp. 89-90.

[2] For a detailed account see Turab 'Ali 'Alawi, *Usul al Maqsud* [hereafter: 'Alawi, *Usul*], Lucknow, 1894/5; and Muhammad Taqi Haidar 'Alawi, *Nafhat al 'Anbariya man Anfas Al Qalandariya* [hereafter: 'Alawi, *Nafhat*], Lucknow, 1920, and the second edition thereof *Azkar al Abrar* [hereafter: 'Alawi, *Azkar*], Lucknow, 1938/9.

[3] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, I, pp. 56-7.

[4] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, I, pp. 70-99; see also Table: The Ways of the silsilas of Takiya Sharif. There is also the silsila Musafha which is not a 'proper' sufi order like the Qadariya. A person can not be made murid in it. It is a spiritual connection which is passed on to khalifas.

Table: The Ways of the Silsilas of Takiya Sharif

NAME OF SUFI ORDER	TOTAL NUMBER OF WAYS IN WHICH EACH ORDER IS TRACED	PASSED ON FROM SHAH BASIT 'ALI QALANDAR AND DESCEN-DANTS TO SHAH MUHAMMA D KAZIM QALANDAR	PASSED ON FROM SHAH ABU SA'ID BARELWI TO SHAH MUHAMMA D KAZIM QALANDAR	PASSED ON FROM SHAH AHMAD KURSWI TO SHAH MUHAMMA D KAZIM QALANDAR	PASSED ON THROUGH UWAISI METHOD TO SHAH MUHAMMA D KAZIM QALANDAR	PASSED ON FROM KHWAJA HASAN CHISHTI MAWDUDI LUCKNOWI TO SHAH TURAB 'ALI QALANDAR	PASSE D ON FROM SAI-YID 'ALI BIN ZAHIR WITRI MADA NI TO SHAH HA-BIB HAI-DAR
QALAN-DARIYA	10	9 (+ ONE	FROM	LAHAR	PUR)	-	-
QADARIYA	14	2	5	-	-	2	5
CHISH-TIYA	9	2	4	-	2	1	-
SUHRA-WARDIYA	9	4	2	-	-	-	3
FIRDAW-SIYA	7	3	4	-	-	-	-
TAIFU-RIYA	2	2	-	-	-	-	-
MADARIYA	5	4	1	-	-	-	-
NAQSH-BANDIYA	6	-	3	2	-	-	1
MADINIYA MAGHRE-BIYA	2	-	2	-	-	-	-
'AIDRU-SIYA	6	-	6	-	-	-	-
SHAZLIYA	1	-	1	-	-	-	-
SHATTA-RIYA	3	-	3	-	-	-	-
QASHI-RIYA	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
UWAISIYA	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
KHIZIRIYA	3	-	-	-	-	-	3
RIFA'IYA	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
TOTAL NUMBER	80	27	31	2	2	3	15

Source: 'Alawi, *Habibi*, I, pp. 70-99.

Kazim did not receive from his own murshid was the Naqshbandiya. For that he turned on the one hand to Shah Ahmad Kurswi[1] who granted him permission going back through the local Naqshbandi centre in Rai Bareli founded by Shah 'Alam Allah, khalifa of Shah Adam Banuri who in turn was the famous khalifa of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi.[2] In addition Muhammad Kazim received a second permission from Shah Abu Sa'id Barelwi of Rai Bareli (d.1779)[3] who traced his Naqshbandi descent through Shah Wali Allah and Sirhindi[4]. Together with this permission he obtained nine other tariqas, many of which were those brought back by Shah Wali Allah from the Hejaz. Shah Muhammad Kazim was tied into the local 'sufiscape', a predominance of Chishti khanqahs, in two more ways. Linking him firmly to regional Chishti centres he received the ijazat from Shah Mina Lucknowi and Shah Safi Safipuri in a vision (uwaisi).[5] Takiya Sharif in being a Qadari-Qalandari khanqah was not completely part of the main sufi stream. It was not completely on the margins either. Through the various initiations held by Muhammad Kazim it was tied in with all the important sufi movements of his day. The large number

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[1] 'Alawi, *Usul*, p. 384; 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 352.

[2] S.A.A. Rizvi, *Shah 'Abd al-'Aziz: Puritanism, Sectarian Polemics and Jihad*, Ma'rifat Publishing House, Canberra, 1982, pp. 473-4.

[3] No mention of this second Naqshbandi initiation can be found in 'Alawi, *Usul* the earliest work on Shah Muhammad Kazim. It is mentioned in 'Alawi, *Nafhat*, pp. 361-2, and 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 352, and an ijazat nama is listed in Taqi Anwar 'Alawi, *Tazkira-i Gulshan-i Karam: Dargah 'Alam Panah Kazimiya ke Awrang nashinon ke Mukhtazar Halat* [hereafter: 'Alawi, *Gulshan-i Karam*], Lucknow, 1985, pp. 36-40, where on p. 35, a quotation from S.M. Al Hasani, *Tazkira-i Shah 'Alam Allah*, p. 18, is also listed which backs this up.

[4] According to 'Alawi, *Habibi*, I, p. 73 pp, he was the khalifa of Shah Muhammad 'Ashiq Allah Phulti, a khalifa of Shah Wali Allah, and according to Rizvi, *'Abd al-'Aziz*, p. 474, he himself was the khalifa of Shah Wali Allah.

[5] 'Alawi, *Usul*, p. 395; 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 350.

of spiritual paths linking Muhammad Kazim to the Prophet were symptomatic of his age. Sufi orders in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were desperate to gather together for themselves the fraying skeins of spiritual succession. The more removed the age of the Prophet became the more concerned were people to be linked to that time.The more strands of spiritual succession they could gather to themselves the more firmly they were connected to the spiritual golden age.

The successors of Shah Muhammad Kazim did not cease to collect further spiritual links. A close mystical net was spun between Kakori and the other two major Qalandar shrines in the region, Laharpur and Damgarah Sharif. For four generations each newly appointed sajjada nashin of Takiya Sharif was granted the khilafat from the current head of the khanqah of Muhammad Kazim's guide in Damgarah. Many of Takiya's sajjadas went on a pilgrimage to Damgarah for that. Shah Turab 'Ali also went to Laharpur and received the permission there too. The connection between Damgarah and Kakori only loosened in the twentieth century while links through mutual visits continued with Laharpur.[1]

Two further strands of permissions in sufi orders were received by Shah Turab 'Ali and Shah Habib Haidar. In the early nineteenth century Turab 'Ali was given the ijazat in the Chishtiya and Qadariya by Khwaja Hasan Chishti Mawdudi Lucknowi (d.1825/26) who had been a close friend of Muhammad Kazim and was a prominent sufi of the day.[2] Khwaja Hasan was involved in the court of the Nawabs of Awadh and connected Takiya

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[1] Interview with Dr.M.A. Alavi, 5 September 1992. See also: 'Alawi, *Usul*, pp. 384-6; 'Alawi, *Azkar*, pp. 386-9, 423, 469, 511; 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, pp. 566-7.

[2] 'Alawi, *Usul*, p. 386; 'Alawi, *Nafhat*, p. 422 fn. 1; 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 390.

Sharif to the political centre of power.[1] In the twentieth century Habib Haidar Qalandar was granted a further permission in seven tariqas by Shaikh al Hadith Saiyid 'Ali bin Zahir Witri Madani. This was brought back from Medina by Mawlana 'Abd al Bari Farangi Mahali, Saiyid 'Ali bin Zahir Witri Madani never having set eyes on Habib Haidar himself.[2] This confirmation of the spiritual standing of Shah Habib Haidar from outside India had not happened before in Takiya Sharif and brought the khanqah closer to the traditional homeland of Islam.

'Ali, the nephew and son-in-law of the Prophet, was held in high esteem in Takiya Sharif. The family considered themselves to be tafzilis, those who held 'Ali in higher regard than other caliphs. 'Ali is generally considered to have been the first sufi and most of the sufi tariqas trace their lines to the Prophet back through him. The exception being the Naqshbandiya which looked to Abu Bakr.[3] One external indication of the role played by 'Ali in Takiya Sharif is that during the sama' of the 'urs the word 'Ali formed out of metal, the Zafar Takiya, is placed in front of the sajjada nashin.[4] Not only have the sajjada nashins been visited by 'Ali their interest is also expressed in books written about him.[5]

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[1] Khwaja Hasan Chishti was the khalifa of Shah 'Ali Akbar Mawdudi, a Chishti sufi from Delhi who had settled in Faizabad and had converted to Shia Islam under the influence of the Awadh court culture without relinquishing his sufi leanings or his sufi following. Cole, *Shi'ism*, pp. 127, 129, 149-51. Cole suggests that the conversion to Shia Islam might have taken place to gain easier access to court patronage. *Ibid.*, p. 129.

[2] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, I, pp. 96-8.

[3] H. Algar, "A Brief History of the Naqshbandi Order", in M. Garborieau, A. Popovic, and T. Zarcone, eds., *Naqshbandis: cheminements et situation actuelle d'un ordre mystique musulman*, Institut Français d'Études Anatoliennes et les Éditions Isis, Istanbul, 1990, pp. 4-5.

[4] Interview with Dr.M.A. Alavi, 5 September 1992.

[5] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, pp. 822-3, 877.

The love expressed for him and the respect brought forward fitted in well during the Nawabi times but became more controversial in the twentieth century with the increasing hostility between Sunnis and Shias.

Takiya Sharif was well integrated into Awadh's mystical topography. Although belonging to a 'fringe' sufi order the tariqa was well represented in eastern UP and Patna, and had been established in the region since before the fourteenth century. The founder of the khanqah in Kakori was respected by, and on friendly terms with, the other sufi centres or individual sufis in and around Lucknow, be they Chishti Nizami, Chishti Sabri, Naqshbandi or Qadari. Through the various permissions he held he was linked to the reforming tradition under Sirhindi and Wali Allah in Delhi, he was on close terms with the Naqshbandi khanqah in Rai Bareli long before its rise to prominence as the home base of Saiyid Ahmad Shahid (1786-1830),[1] and he counted among his friends Mawlwi Na'im Allah Bahraichi (d.1803), a khalifa of Mirza Jan-i Janan.[2] Close connections existed between Takiya Sharif and the ulama of Farangi Mahal, the leading Sunni learned family in northern India.[3] Shah Muhammad Kazim Qalandar drew together in himself many of the important sufi strands of his age, and over time his children continued to do so.

The Founding Story of the Spiritual Tradition

The founder of the great Qalandari-Qadari shrine at Kakori, Muhammad Kazim

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[1] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 352.

[2] 'Alawi, *Usul*, p. 422; 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 356; see also Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, p. 247.

[3] For example 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 360; 'Alawi, *Habibi*, I, pp. 96-8.

(1745-1806), was a scion of a moderately successful Mughal service family. According to family tradition their ancestor, Qazi Muhammad Sadiq, had left Saharam in northern Iran in the fourteenth century and eventually his great-grandchildren came to settle in Kakori in 1512/3.[1] Scholars, soldiers and mystics, they had served the Mughal emperors both at the court and in the subhas receiving one mansab, several jagirs and grants madad-i ma'ash.[2] Muhammad Kazim's great uncle had been tutor to one of the sons of the emperor Muhammad Shah;[3] his grandfather had been killed in 1738-39 fighting the troops of Nadir Shah in Delhi.[4] His father, Muhammad Kashf, was in the family way both mystic and soldier.[5]

Muhammad Kazim, who was born in 1745, became a soldier aged 15. He joined a cavalry unit of the Awadh troops commanded by his maternal uncle, Nawab Muzaffarad Dawla Tahawir Jang Bakhshi Abul Barkat Khan, stationed at Gorakhpur. As a young soldier Muhammad Kazim made a point of meeting fakirs and following their ascetic practices; he would, for instance, fast every other day. One day he heard Nawab Muzaffarad Dawla's brother praising Shah Basit 'Ali Qalandar of Damgarah near Allahabad. Muhammad Kazim immediately set out on foot for the shrine, going absent without leave, and on meeting Shah Basit 'Ali was, most unusually, made a murid on the

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[1] Sami 'Ali 'Alawi, *Nafhat al Nasim Fi Tahqiq Ahwal Awlad 'Abd al Karim* [hereafter: 'Alawi, *Nasim*], second edition revised by Amir Ahmad 'Alawi, Lucknow, c. 1934, pp. 12-4; 'Alawi, *Usul*, p. 193.

[2] 'Alawi, *Nasim*, pp. 20, 73; Muhammad 'Ali Haidar 'Alawi, *Tazkira-i Mashahir-i Kakori* [hereafter: 'Alawi, *Mashahir*], Lucknow, 1927, pp. 96-9, 245.

[3] 'Alawi, *Mashahir*, pp. 338-9.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 151-2; 'Alawi, *Nasim*, p. 22.

[5] 'Alawi, *Usul*, pp. 197-8; 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 331 fn. 1; 'Alawi, *Mashahir*, pp. 360-2.

spot.[1]

Muhammad Kazim clearly developed a passionate spiritual attachment to Shah Basit 'Ali. Deeply depressed after the defeat of his uncle's forces by the British at Buxar in 1764, he rushed straight from the field of battle to Shah Basit 'Ali for comfort. Some days later he returned home and followed his shaikh's advice, and that of his mother, that he got married. In the following years he enlisted as a soldier again but it increasingly became clear that his real vocation lay in the life of a mystic.[2] This experience can in some ways be compared to that of Shah 'Abd al Razzaq of Bansa Sharif who had also been a soldier before becoming a sufi.[3] Every year Muhammad Kazim would go on foot from Kakori to Damgarah and stay with his shaikh for five months or so. Then he would return to his qasbah to teach meditation and mystical practices. After ten years had passed Shah Basit 'Ali decided that he was fit to become a successor; he bestowed upon him the khirqa and khilafat-i kubriya (great khilafat) and gave him the ijazat in seven silsilas.[4]

According to his son, Shah Turab 'Ali, Muhammad Kazim was unwilling to bear the burden of spiritual leadership and the exposed public position which it would give him. He told Shah Basit that he had enemies in his qasbah; many were from his own family who could not bear to see people bow before one who was so young.[5] Shah Basit 'Ali told him: "They are against you, and why not? When the Prophet's own relatives were against

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[1] 'Alawi, *Usul*, pp. 206-28; 'Alawi, *Azkar*, pp. 335-6.

[2] 'Alawi, *Usul*, pp. 232-48; 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 336.

[3] Robinson, "Scholarship and mysticism", p. 385.

[4] 'Alawi, *Usul*, pp. 248-61, 284-5; 'Alawi, *Azkar*, pp. 336-7.

[5] Interview with Dr.M.A. Alavi, 5 September 1992.

him then why should you not also have people against you."[1] Muhammad Kazim said that if his shaikh ordered him to assume the khilafat, he would run away to the hills to be a hermit (majzub). Shah Basit 'Ali forbade him to do so. Muhammad Kazim then begged that he be allowed to remain with his master. Shah Basit 'Ali was adamant: "This will also not happen. Two suns cannot light the same place as two kings cannot rule the same country. You will return to your home town and there you will live."[2]

This experience of Muhammad Kazim was typical of hundreds of pious young man of his time. What transformed his position as a sufi leader and laid the foundation of his influential sufi tradition was the patronage of one of the most powerful men of his day Maharaja Tikait Rai, Diwan and, from 1792 to 1795/6, also Naib Wazir of Awadh.[3] On returning to Kakori Muhammad Kazim taught in a local mosque and in the khanqah of another Qalandar shaikh, Shah Shukar Allah, whose main base was in Delhi.[4] Later on he

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[1] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 339.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 339.

[3] Maharaja Tikait Rai was a Srivastava Kayasth belonging to a family with long tradition of service and loyalty to the Awadh rulers. A resident of qasbah Inchauli in Bara Banki district his ancestral town had been in the Jaunpur area. Before his rise to fame he had become murid of Shah Basit 'Ali Qalandar. He came to his position in the Diwani from outside as the Diwani had been dominated for many decades by the family of Raja Surat Singh, another Kayasth. When Nawab Asaf al Dawla changed the top levels of the administration after his succession Maharaja Tikait Rai was given charge of the Diwani and in 1792 on the death of the Naib Wazir he was promoted to that position too. Apart from helping the khanqah in Kakori financially he also gave money and land grants to the shrine in Damgarah; he founded markets and villages, funded a maktab in Lucknow, built mosques, imambaras and temples, bridges and wells.

Sources: Barnett, *North India Between Empires*, pp. 232-3; Fisher, *Clash of Cultures*, pp. 68, 70, 109; A. Hasan, *Vanishing Culture of Lucknow*, B.R. Publishing Corporation, Delhi, 1990, pp. 56, 60, 90; *DG Bara Banki* (1904), pp. 283-5; *DG Lucknow* (1922), p. 194; *DG Allahabad* (1968), p. 374; Chawdhri Saiyid 'Ali Muhammad Zaidi, *Bara Banki*, Lucknow, 1984, pp. 200-1, 228-9; *'Alawi, Azkar*, pp. 294, 307-8; 'Alawi, *Usul*, pp. 147-8, 162, 292-3.

[4] 'Alawi, *Usul*, pp. 270-1; 'Alawi, *Azkar*, pp. 192-5, 337-8.

was able to build a small hut in his family graveyard but he had difficulty in protecting the wooden structure against thieves. Eventually, he sought advice from Shah Basit 'Ali.[1] The shaikh instructed his disciple, the Kayasth Tikait Rai, to join the circle of Muhammad Kazim and there he offered to build a pukka khanqah for him. This, the Diwan did, according to family tradition, when Muhammad Kazim was away from Kakori.[2] From now on "the numbers of travellers and followers increased", according to family tradition, "because of the presence of the Maharaja...".[3] Muhammad Kazim was evidently embarrassed by the patronage of such a wealthy man. He would ask his murids: "Are you taking bai'at in the way of Allah or in the way of Tikait Rai?"[4] Nevertheless, the centrality of Tikait Rai's patronage to the early success of the shrine is symbolised by the fact that his first building now lives at the very heart of the Kakori shrine complex.

Like any other saint in the Islamic tradition the recognition of Muhammad Kazim's sainthood depended on the people he interacted with. In the absence of a central authority which sanctified people sainthood was established by the acts of an individual and the attitude of society. Critical was, on the one hand, a man's piety and learning and deeds, and on the other acknowledgement of his status by both other holy men and ordinary people. Shah Muhammad Kazim Qalandar's life was interlaced with people confirming his spiritual position.

Already in his youth Muhammad Kazim's father had been told about his son's

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[1] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 338.

[2] Muhammad Mujtaba Haidar 'Alawi, *Azarat-i Takiya Sharif* [hereafter: 'Alawi, *Azarat*], 1990, pp. v-vi, 3; 'Alawi, *Usul*, pp. 291-3.

[3] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 338.

[4] 'Alawi, *Gulshan-i Karam*, p. 15.

'fortunate state' by a descendant of Shaikh 'Ala al Haqq Pandawi.[1] Later on in life Muhammad Kazim was directly recognised as a 'fellow sufi' by Shah Fakir Ahmad, sajjada nashin and pirzada, of Rudauli Sharif, whose ancestor Shah 'Abd al Haqq had brought the Chishti silsila to Awadh. Shah Fakir Ahmad's father even offered nazar to Muhammad Kazim, declaring it as a blessing from him.[2] Throughout his life meetings with buzurgs and majzubs continued emphasizing the high position which Shah Muhammad Kazim Qalandar held.

A second group of people who indicated his spiritual might were those who had taken bai'at from another saint but chose Muhammad Kazim's company for achieving mystical gain and were sometimes granted the khilafat from him. Mawlwi Shah Ahmad Kurswi, for example, a khalifa of the Naqshbandi silsila and a shaikh in his own right, exchanged ijazats with Muhammad Kazim, he giving that of the Naqshbandiya and receiving that of the Qalandariya. Shah Ahmad Kurswi spent much time with Muhammad Kazim and told his students: "Whoever has interest in bai'at and ijazat after my death he should go to Kakori to Muhammad Kazim. No one is equal to him."[3]

Those who were already dead would, according to family tradition, speak to Muhammad Kazim in a dream. Shah Mina Lucknowi, one of the most important Chishti saints in the region, was met in this way. Shah Muhammad Kazim Qalandar received the ijazat in the Chishtiya from him. Similarly, he obtained the Chishti ijazat again together with a tasbih from Shah Safi Safipuri. Ibn 'Arabi, the great thirteenth century mystic of Spain who laid the foundation for the concept of wahdat al wujud (unity of being) is even

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[1] 'Alawi, *Usul*, pp. 205-6; 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 333.

[2] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 340; 'Alawi, *Usul*, pp. 297-8.

[3] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 377.

said to have entered into Muhammad Kazim in a dream. The discussion with Sirhindi which Muhammad Kazim conducted had an equally unifying result; Muhammad Kazim stated that he was so involved in spiritual exercises that he had no time for thinking about wujud and shuhud and Sirhindi agreed that it was the same for him.[1]

A further set of people, this time located right at the heart of the spiritual tradition of Shah Muhammad Kazim Qalandar, and of Islam in general, who communicated with him were 'Abd al Qadir Gilani, 'Ali, the Prophet and even God. The Prophet appeared first to Muhammad Kazim at a young age, before he attained his spiritual maturity, when Prophet Muhammad invited him to pray with him and

> pulled him by his hand to his right side into the first line, where he was part of the same row as 'Ali and the Prophet.[2]

The Prophet, according to family sources, was involved in all stages of Muhammad Kazim's life: carrying mud for the building of the khanqah, answering his spiritual questions and advising him on the shape of his beard.[3] Meeting God, however, in his youth was a most unusual experience designed to indicate the unique position held by Muhammad Kazim. He was granted a pomegranate by him.[4]

Such visitations by the Prophet and 'Ali were coveted by all Muslims but achieved only by a few. The ease with which Muhammad Kazim, and after him his successors, obtained access to these 'core' people was an important indicator of his closeness to them, and was immediately perceived as such by the people who heard about it.

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[1] 'Alawi, *Usul*, pp. 394-7; 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 350.

[2] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 333; similar 'Alawi, *Usul*, p. 207.

[3] 'Alawi, *Usul*, pp. 277, 393; 'Alawi, *Azkar*, pp. 338-9, 349-50.

[4] 'Alawi, *Usul*, p. 208; 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 333.

Family Background

From their arrival in Kakori in 1512/3 down to the twentieth century the 'Alawis have been a typical qasbah service family. They are to be compared with the Saiyids of Bilgram, the Saiyids of Mohan and the Farangi Mahalis of first Sihali and then Lucknow. Indeed, in constructing marriage alliances outside the immediate family clan or qasbah the 'Alawis were extremely scrupulous to ensure that those were only struck up with other service class families of extra-Indian origin like the Makhdumzadgan of Amethi, the Makhdumzadgan of Dewa, the Siddiqian of Bijnor or the Ansaris of Farangi Mahal to name only a few.[1] The 'Alawis were scholars like their famous ancestor Shaikh Nizam al Din Qari who was acknowledged as "Danishmand" in the firman he received from Akbar in 1573/4; teachers like Mulla 'Azmat Allah who was appointed to teach fiqh to Zaib al Nissa, the daughter of 'Alamgir; government servants like Shaikh Saif al Din, mufti during the reign of Shahjahan.[2] Later on the 'Alawis transferred their loyalties, as other service families did, to the Nawabs of Awadh. They worked as chakladars like Shaikh Mahbub 'Alam, and qazis like Hafiz Ghawth 'Ali and his son and grandson in Farukhabad; and as kotwals and tahsildars.[3] For a long time Shaikh 'Ashiq 'Alikhan 'Alawi represented the Nawabs as ambassador in Calcutta.[4]

Apart from those 'Alawis who worked as scholars, a large number also worked as soldiers. Shaikh Jar Allah held the subadarship of Khairabad for the Mughals. At the time

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[1] 'Alawi, *Nasim*, pp. 140-5.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 11 and fn. 1, 72-3; 'Alawi, *Mashahir*, pp. 200, 273.

[3] 'Alawi, *Nasim*, pp. 30, 51, 75, 91-2, 111, 113; 'Alawi, *Mashahir*, pp. 316, 334.

[4] 'Alawi, *Nasim*, p. 77; 'Alawi, *Mashahir*, pp. 230-1.

of his power he had four elephants, four canons and 10,000 horsemen and foot soldiers with him at all times; his jagir was in qasbah Mahona.[1] Other family members were fawjdars for the Nawabs and also for the large revenue contractors.[2] Many served in the cavalry under Nawab Shuja al Dawla, as did Shaikh Tufail 'Ali; he began in the cavalry under Bakhshi Abul Barkat Khan, and then served under Raja Jhaw Lal and Miyan Almas 'Ali Khan. He finished as fawjdar in Bijnor, a post which his son initially took over from him but then abandoned for employment by the East India Company.[3]

The evidence suggests that the family sought service opportunities as widely as possible. They seemed to have had little difficulty in transferring their services to the East India Company, when opportunity arose.[4] Moreover, as Sleeman notes, they did so with great success:

> The little town of Karoree, about ten or twelve miles from Lucknow, has, I believe, more educated men, filling high and lucrative offices in our civil establishments, than any other town in India except Calcutta. They owe the greater security which they there enjoy, compared with other small towns in Oude, chiefly to the respect in which they are held by the British Government and its officers, and to the influence of their friends and relatives who hold office about the Court of Lucknow.[5]

After the annexation of Awadh they had jobs in three areas. The majority worked for the British. Many began as assistant tahsildar, rose to tahsildar and might in the end have moved to the deputy collector's office, or even have become deputy collector themselves.[6]

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[1] 'Alawi, *Nasim*, p. 73; 'Alawi, *Mashahir*, pp. 96-9.

[2] 'Alawi, *Nasim*, pp. 65, 82; 'Alawi, *Mashahir*, pp. 271, 344-5, 353.

[3] 'Alawi, *Nasim*, p. 74; 'Alawi, *Mashahir*, pp. 408-9.

[4] For example see 'Alawi, *Mashahir*, pp. 283-4, 420-3.

[5] "Karoree" must have been a misprint. Sleeman, *Journey*, II, p. 10.

[6] 'Alawi, *Nasim*, pp. 24-5, 39-44, 47, 85-6, 113; 'Alawi, *Mashahir*, pp. 33-4.

They also worked in the Education, Police, Railway and Excise Departments.[1] Some were qanungos, peshkars and sarrishtadars.[2] As the British made achievement in their new Western educational system the criteria for appointment, 'Alawis normally were not slow to pick up the necessary BAs and LLBs.[3] This of course did not mean that they neglected their traditional education and most family members completed their Persian and Arabic classes before they moved on to English schools. As there was no separate maktab in Kakori itself children were sent to the shrine to be educated there.[4]

Others moved to the Indian States and large landed estates. After they had retired from their English Government service many 'Alawis worked for the Governments of Hyderabad, Bhopal, Indore, Rampur etc.[5] They were thus able to take their acquired skills with them and move into fairly senior positions as, for instance, Munshi Imtiyaz 'Ali did. He had been employed in the Police Department in Banda before the 1857 Uprising, afterwards he passed his wakilat exam and began to practice in Lucknow. He moved on to become legal adviser of the Taluqdaran-i Awadh. After working for 20 years as wakil he was called to Bhopal by Nawab Shah Jahan Begam to become wazir.[6] Other 'Alawis wished to avoid the British system as far as possible and worked solely within the Indian States. They would then again work in the Education and Police Departments; as judges,

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[1] 'Alawi, *Nasim*, pp. 31-2, 39, 40, 46, 47-8, 84, 95, 106, 112-3.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 29, 39, 40, 41, 46-9, 53, 55, 72, 101-2.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 39-40, 47, 105-6, 114, 128-9, 131-2, 135.

[4] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, I, p. 31.

[5] 'Alawi, *Nasim*, pp. 31, 35-6, 75, 109, 127, 131; 'Alawi, *Mashahir*, p. 34.

[6] 'Alawi, *Mashahir*, pp. 41-5; Sharar Ahmad 'Alawi, *Sukhunwaran-i Kakori* [hereafter: 'Alawi, *Sukhunwaran*], Karachi, 1978, pp. 96-101.

court officials and clerks; and as assistant settlement officers.[1]

The third possibility was to become either a wakil or a hakim. Both professions offered the possibility of a livelihood without being in British pay. To work as a wakil was the most attractive option in either Indian or British territory. Many of the 'Alawis set up wakilats in and around Lucknow, but some went also to Hyderabad.[2] While undertaking work as a wakil meant a constant involvement with the indianised English legal system, a hakim was more or less free from any contact with the 'alien rulers' as far as his work was concerned. After learning tibb from another hakim or in a specialised madrasah one could set up a practice anywhere. Some family members were in British employment and practised tibb at the same time.[3] Mawlwi Bashir Ahmad, for example, a third-generation hakim, was employed in the Telegraph Department in Kanpur and had a clinic too.[4] The ideal combination, of course, was to be both wakil and hakim, as were Hakims Muhab 'Ali and Habib 'Ali.[5]

The only way to survive for the individual and the service family in general in changing times was to be flexible in its responses, to move into those situations which were newly opening up and to relinquish those which proved unviable.

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[1] 'Alawi, *Nasim*, pp. 45, 66-7, 111, 114.

[2] For Lucknow: 'Alawi, *Nasim*, pp. 43, 105-8, 114; 'Alawi, *Mashahir*, pp. 20-1. For Hyderabad: 'Alawi, *Nasim*, pp. 40, 81, 85.

[3] 'Alawi, *Nasim*, p. 55; 'Alawi, *Mashahir*, p. 124.

[4] 'Alawi, *Nasim*, p. 59.

[5] 'Alawi, *Nasim*, pp. 52-3, 55-6; 'Alawi, *Sukhunwaran*, pp. 154-5, 299.

The Constituency of the Shrine

In 1906 during the last months of Shah 'Ali Anwar Qalandar's life many of his followers came to visit the saint on his sick bed. The crowds that pressed to receive the blessing of their saint for the last time offered a snapshot of the following of the shrine. There were the usual range of people: people in distress, students, murids, khalifas and visiting mystics and scholars. It was quite an impressive congregation. Amongst those notables who had travelled from further afield to be there were Munshi Wahaj al Din 'Uthmani, deputy collector, who had come from Sultanpur, Munshi Taj al Din 'Uthmani, sub-judge, from Lakhimpur, Nawab Muhammad 'Abd al Karim Khan, taluqdar, who had arrived from his estate in Shahabad together with his assistant manager Shaikh Sa'id al Din 'Uthmani, Munshi Shakur Ahmad Amethwi, manager, Court of Wards, from the estate Phaso and Babu Awadh Bihari Lal, wakil, from Lucknow.[1]

Supplicants came to the shrine from many backgrounds and for many reasons. There were those who sought help without being formally attached to the shrine. These might be prospective disciples to whom the sajjada nashin had not yet granted bai'at but mostly they were lay people who faced a problem. For these the saint represented the last hope after other avenues had failed. Most of them were local people while at least half of them would have been non-Muslims.[2] The sajjada nashins had certain hours during which they

[1] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, pp. 668-9.

[2] Interview with Dr.M.A. Alavi, 26 April 1992.

held an open surgery in which they would deal with these patients.[1] The success of the shrine depended to an extent on the successful handling by the saint of these issues.

There were students. It used to be the custom in Kakori to send the sons of the qasbah's service families, Muslim and Hindu, to the shrine to learn Arabic and Persian and adab.[2] Only when they had achieved a certain proficiency did they proceed to other educational institutions. Over time this custom lost its relevance as not only the usefulness of Persian and Arabic declined but also the majority of Kakori Muslims migrated to Pakistan after Partition.[3] During the late nineteenth century, however, those students who "had come from far to Lucknow for lessons in ma'qulat and manqulat, many of them came [also] to Kakori..."[4] to benefit from the knowledge of the sajjada nashin of Takiya Sharif. Students made up a fairly large, if not the largest, section of the shrine's constituency.

There were murids and khalifas. These owed a formal allegiance to the shrine. Some families had long-standing traditions of muridship as Munshi Jamil Ahmad Hajjaji Kakorwi tells us

> All of my father's family and all of my mother's family were murids of Takiya Sharif. Therefore my mother decided that my sisters would become murids of Shah 'Ali Anwar Qalandar, and she also said to me "Go, become murid",...[5]

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[1] The sajjada nashin would in case of emergencies be available to anyone at anytime. But the general pattern seems to have been two slots of consultation time a day. 'Alawi, *Habibi*, I, pp. 305-7.

[2] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, I, p. 31.

[3] Interview with Dr.M.A. Alavi, 26 April 1992.

[4] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 496.

[5] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, p. 856.

Some disciples were said to be khas murids, special murids, who had a mutually close spiritual relationship with their guide. The normal procedure was for everyone to take bai'at only once and then to be connected to that pir for the rest of their lives. Occasionally, however, it was possible for someone who had taken bai'at in his youth from an aged saint to renew this bai'at when his first guide had died with his successor or the successor's successor.[1]

Those who had been granted a licence to make murids in their own name, the khalifas, were mostly recruited from among the body of disciples. A visiting mystic of equal standing might also be granted the khilafat, in certain cases this could be a reciprocal deal.[2] Murids of other saints could also be made khalifa, mostly after they had spent a long time benefitting from and serving the sajjada nashin.[3] A khalifa had the right to set up his own khanqah but, according to family tradition, no off-shoots of Takiya Sharif existed.[4] Some khalifas refused to make murids out of respect for their murshid,[5] some only did so after his death[6] and others did and granted their own khilafat to their followers but over generations their silsila petered out[7]. A number of khalifas, especially in the early years, devoted their whole life to the search of God.[8] Others though deeply

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[1] *Ibid.*, II, pp. 809, 854-6.

[2] For example 'Alawi, *Nafhat*, p. 392; 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 377.

[3] For example 'Alawi, *Nafhat*, pp. 441-3, 450-3; 'Alawi, *Azkar*, pp. 410, 416, 418.

[4] Interview with Dr.M.A. Alavi, 26 April 1992.

[5] 'Alawi, *Mashahir*, p. 477; 'Alawi, *Azkar*, pp. 407, 409; 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, pp. 805, 816.

[6] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, pp. 793, 820-1.

[7] 'Alawi, *Nafhat*, pp. 381, 383; 'Alawi, *Azkar*, pp. 369, 371.

[8] 'Alawi, *Nafhat*, pp. 383-9; 'Alawi, *Azkar*, pp. 369, 371-2, 373-4.

involved in sufism held down also a worldly job. Mawlwi Shah Naqi Yawar Khan was the khalifa of Shah Turab 'Ali Qalandar and also of his son and successor Shah Haidar 'Ali. For his livelihood he worked for the English government and retired from the position of sadr al sudur.[1] Munshi Wahaj al Din was in the same mould. The khalifa of Shah 'Ali Anwar and also Shah Habib Haidar he began working for the English government as manager and rose to be deputy collector via tahsildar. He was in government employment for twenty six years.[2] A full commitment to the spiritual sphere did not necessarily force the individual to retire from all worldly affairs.

There were members of the family. Although Takiya Sharif could by no means be described as a family affair, the 'Alawis did play an important role. The family made up a large part of the students, murids and khalifas.[3] Since most of the important families in Kakori intermarried ('Abbasis, Malikzadas, 'Uthmanis, Hajjajis etc.)[4] the number of relatives of the 'Alawis among the constituency must be considered to be much higher. The very first murid of Muhammad Kazim Qalandar, Shaikh Tufail 'Ali, was a family member and became later on a khalifa.[5] The immediate family around the sajjada nashin was always involved in the running of the shrine. The 'Alawis did not exclusively subscribe to Takiya Sharif and some family members were murids of other saints;[6] there

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[1] 'Alawi, *Nafhat*, pp. 434-9; 'Alawi, *Azkar*, pp. 405-8.

[2] Muhammad 'Alam, *'Uyun al Ma'arif man Shiwan al 'Arif* [hereafter: 'Alam, *'Uyun*), Lucknow, c. 1921/2, p. 64.

[3] See Appendix I.i.

[4] 'Alawi, *Nasim*, pp. 140-5.

[5] 'Alawi, *Nafhat*, pp. 393-5; 'Alawi, *Azkar*, pp. 379-80.

[6] 'Alawi, *Mashahir*, pp. 317, 322-4, 406-8, 470; 'Alawi, *Nasim*, p. 107.

is, however, a predominance of Qadari-Qalandari affiliations.[1]

There were non-Muslims. Many Hindus and Parsis also came to Takiya Sharif. The majority of Hindus brought their daily problems to the saint and sought help. But some looked to the sajjada nashin for guidance in spiritual matters and became his students, companions and murids. The most famous Hindu in the history of the shrine was Maharaja Tikait Rai, murid of the guide of Shah Muhammad Kazim, who sponsored the first proper material manifestation of the khanqah. Hindus, especially Kayasths, from Kakori came to the shrine, mostly to learn Persian.[2] Others came to seek spiritual benefits. The Raja of Mallanpur who came to many of the functions of the shrine received more enlightenment in Kakori than anywhere else and sought the company of the sajjada nashin for that reason. Although being without a formal attachment his frequent visits to the shrine were criticized by friends and family and he was advised to go to the Hindu holy cities Kashi (Benares) or Ajodhia instead.[3] Babu Awadh Bihari Lal, distantly related to a Kakori Kayasth family, was a murid of Shah 'Ali Anwar. But even for him it was not always easy to justify going to the sajjada nashin.

> From time to time this doubt reoccurred within me: "I am a Hindu and Hazrat Sahib is a Muslim - how can I benefit from him?" [Then] one day I dreamt of Shah 'Ali Anwar. In appearance he was like a Pandit, he was wearing an orange-coloured dhoti which was tied in a certain way, the mark of sandal was on his forehead. He was wearing the sacred thread which was three-fingers broad and was embroidered with the words Ram, Ram. One bag of books was on one shoulder, a deer skin was on the other and he was blowing the conch. Seeing this I believed that 'Ali Anwar

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[1] 'Alawi, Azkar, pp. 202, 206, 210, 211, 213, 215; 'Alawi, *Nafhat*, pp. 201, 207, 208; 'Alawi, *Nasim*, p. 65; 'Alawi, *Mashahir*, p. 408

[2] 'Alawi, *Mashahir*, p. 490; 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 496.

[3] 'Alawi, *Nafhat*, pp. 611-3; 'Alawi, *Azkar*, pp. 525-6, 536-8. For a family history of the Raja see N.H. Siddiqui, *Landlords of Agra and Avadh*, Pioneer Press, Lucknow, n.d., pp. 372-3.

exists in every shape and in every place.[1]

Apart from Hindus many Parsis from Bombay came to the khanqah. The most prominent of them was Miss Sonabai Irani who, according to the family tradition, had a close spiritual link with 'Ali. She was allowed to built a bungalow for herself in the grounds of Takiya Sharif in which she stayed during her visits.[2] This privilege had only been granted to two other murids of Takiya Sharif, Nawab 'Abd al Karim Khan and Mawlwi Ziya al Din Haidar.[3] The non-Muslim murids of the shrine were in the same position as their Muslim counterparts with one exception, while they might be close companions of the sajjada nashins they could only become khalifas if they changed their faith.[4]

Most of the followers of Takiya Sharif belonged to the service class.[5] This might to some extend be explained in that Shah Muhammad Kazim Qalandar, the founding saint, was the product of a service class family, and Kakori itself was a service qasbah. The early disciples and khalifas were overwhelmingly employees of the Nawabs of Awadh and worked either at the court or in one of the districts. Some held positions in the administrative field as qazi, zamindar or sadr amin while others were employed in the military - as Muhammad Kazim had been.[6] Some, of course, were hakims and practised

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[1] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 540.

[2] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, pp. 770, 773-9; 'Alawi, *Azarat*, p. 24.

[3] 'Alawi, *Azarat*, pp. 24, 30.

[4] Interview with Dr.M.A. Alavi, 26 April 1992.

[5] See Appendix I.i.

[6] For administrative positions: 'Alawi, *Mashahir*, pp. 103-6, 132, 316; 'Alawi, *Azkar*, pp. 352, 371, 376. For military positions: 'Alawi, *Mashahir*, pp. 405-6; 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 379.

tibb.[1]

One hundred years later the followers of Shah 'Ali Anwar were still overwhelmingly members of the service class. They then worked either for the British or in one of the Indian States; again in positions of zamindar, tahsildar and the various government departments.[2] Some worked still as hakim and others as wakil independently of the government structure.[3] The murids and khalifas maintained their positions in spite of increased competition for jobs, in spite of qualifying exams which had to be passed, in spite of language difficulties - Persian had been abolished as a government language in 1837, and Hindi was made compulsory alongside Urdu in 1900. There were initially some people who prior to the 1857 Uprising had been in government service, Indian and British, and who afterwards stayed at home, often in reduced circumstances.[4] In many instances, however, the next generation was able to pick up from where their fathers and uncles had left off.

As the murids and khalifas of the shrine went about their jobs they introduced their colleagues at work, Hindus and Muslims, to their source of spiritual comfort. Munshi Wahaj al Din, khalifa of Shahs 'Ali Anwar and Habib Haidar and deputy collector, was transferred to many districts within UP and "in every place he turned two to four people

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[1] 'Alawi, *Mashahir*, p. 132.

[2] For the British: 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, pp. 809-10, 838, 862-5. In Indian States: 'Alawi, *Mashahir*, pp. 236, 245, 470. As zamindar: 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, pp. 731, 735, 737. As tahsildars: 'Alawi, *Mashahir*, pp. 236, 245, 419-20. In government departments: 'Alawi, *Sukhunwaran*, p. 216.

[3] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, pp. 700, 809-10, 839-41; 'Alawi, *Sukhunwaran*, p. 54.

[4] 'Alawi, *Mashahir*, p. 172; "Assessment of Kakori groves, District Lucknow", Settlement Officer's Report, 27 May 1870, BoR (Lucknow), No. 497 of 1870, UPSA, Lucknow.

into seekers of internal things"[1] and took them back to Kakori. He introduced among others Mawlwi 'Imran Ahmad Siddiqi, taluqdar of Sitapur, to Takiya Sharif, Munshi Muhammad Nazir Siddiqi of Shahzadpur, and Mawlwi Muhammad Muzanna, deputy collector.[2] Babu Awadh Bihari Lal was brought by Munshi Shakur Ahmad Amethwi. They both had been employed in the Department Court of Wards in Lakhimpur.

> But there was no friendship or agreement between the two. Babu Awadh Bihari Lal objected to Munshiji visiting Kakori. After a long time Babuji once came with Munshiji before Shah 'Ali Anwar, and then he was so affected that both men became one soul and two bodies.[3]

The influence of Takiya Sharif spread among the service class people as its murids and khalifas were transferred from place to place.

In the early years of the shrine most of its followers lived and worked within the Awadh territory.[4] Many were from Kakori itself. Notable exceptions were khalifas coming from Jaunpur, Bilgram and Kursi and those who went on hajj. Only a couple of people, Hafiz Mazhar Husain 'Alawi, murid and son-in-law of Muhammad Kazim, who worked for Raja Ranjit Singh in Lahore and Nawab Amir 'Ashiq Allah 'Alawi Khan Bahadur, who was ambassador for the Nawabs of Awadh in Calcutta, were employed outside Awadh.[5] As Awadh decreased in territory through the cession in 1801 murids began also to work for the British mainly within the later UP territory. When the pressure on jobs increased the followers sought employment in the Indian States, namely Rampur, Bhopal

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[1] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 578.

[2] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, pp. 804-5, 848, 850; 'Alam, *'Uyun*, pp. 171 fn. 1, 182 fn. 1, 193 fn. 1.

[3] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, pp. 837-8; see also *Ibid.*, II, p. 807.

[4] See Appendix I.i.

[5] 'Alawi, *Mashahir*, pp. 230-2, 405-6.

and Hyderabad. They looked for vacancies on the large landed estates too. After retiring from English employment some supplemented their pensions by taking on positions in Indian employment. With partition many of the shrine's clients migrated to Pakistan, filling there the same positions as before. The shrine today is not only visited by murids from Kakori, Lucknow or UP but from all over India, Pakistan, the Gulf States, the UK and USA. The murids are part of what might be called an international service class which in search of employment spread worldwide taking with them their affiliation to, and love for, Takiya Sharif, Kakori.

Making bai'at

The making of bai'at with a pir was a step of great importance for the spiritual development of a person. It marked the beginning of a period of spiritual learning at the feet of an experienced guide. In becoming murid the seeker not only indicated that he had reached a certain internal maturity but he also joined a larger group dedicated to the same aim as he was. Munshi Shafi' al Din Kirmani tells us how he eventually became murid.

> I was against the system of piri-muridi. I considered it to be useless, although in my home town Dewa Sharif lived a famous mystic Haji Warith 'Ali[1]. Thousands of people of all religions came from far away, facing the difficulties of a long journey to become his murid. Occasionally I was also in his presence and kissed his feet. But I never had any interest in taking bai'at [from him], nor have I now. Slowly through reading books, keeping company with mystics and different experiences my intellect has matured. A train of thoughts went through my head. "If this is an unnecessary thing, then why does it have so many followers? Why did my ancestors, Mawlana 'Abd al Salam [Dewi] and Mawlana Zu al Fiqar 'Ali, who were renown ulama, find it good and beneficial?" After thinking about this it became

[1] See Chapter 4.

> clear that every person needed a leader and a guide whose advice, good information and opinion prevented evil. Someone to lead through the ups and downs of life and who in fearing God would keep one on the straight path. Then I decided that it was necessary to be a murid and to look for a pir. I had thought about this for many years. And I had the opportunity to go to many places. But no pir was on my level. After my uncle Mawlwi 'Azim al Din received his pension as munsif [and went to live in Kakori] I was able to live in Kakori [with him]. After a few days I came to Takiya Sharif. I looked at everything with great care. The silsila had existed for many years. At last the strict observation of the shari'a and the good habits of Shah Habib Haidar influenced my heart. I became eager to become murid. I was still struggling within me when Nusha Miyan Badauni came to Kakori. I told him about my problem. He said: "You will find nobody better than Shah Sahib." My heart was still inflamed from before and with a pure heart I decided to become murid.[1]

Being murid entailed different things at different times. In the early days of the khanqah Muhammad Kazim was concerned to build up a group of clients who had the necessary ability for spiritual growth. He was, we are told, very selective in whom he made murid. "Many companions had been with him for ten or twenty years but he did not make them murid. They were not considered able for that."[2] Once however, a number of people had become murid, and initially this meant members of the Kakori service families, this link with the shrine was passed down from generation to generation.[3] It became nothing unusual for teenagers to become murids, since their elders, on the mother's and father's side, had been murids too. Once the young people had reached a certain maturity and the family tradition vouched for their spiritual suitability they became disciples of the sajjada nashin or his brother. Munshi Shaida 'Ali 'Abbasi explained:

> Both my sons became murids in their childhood, because I believe that a pir guides his own murids externally and internally in presence and in

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[1] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, pp. 708-9.

[2] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, pp. 351-2.

[3] For an example of a murid-dynasty see 'Alam, *'Uyun*, pp. 24, 26, 37, 38, 42, 52, 80, 369; and 'Alawi, *Sukhunwaran*, p. 360.

absence.[1]

Munshi Shaida 'Ali's sons, like many others, then received an English education. They had to function in a system which did not impose their religion on them but in which they had to impose it for themselves. Making bai'at seemed to serve as a warding off of evil. The saint would watch over the development of his murid and protect him; bai'at became a type of inoculation which was supposed to immunize the murid from the temptations of an increasingly un-Islamic outer world.

Giving bai'at was not only the monopoly of the sajjada nashin. Shah Mir Muhammad, brother of Muhammad Kazim, made murids and khalifas in his own name.[2] Equally Himayat 'Ali, brother of Shah Turab 'Ali, initiated followers in his own name;[3] and Taqi 'Ali Qalandar had actually more murids than his brother Haidar 'Ali the sajjada nashin.[4] This tradition changed somewhat when we reach the twentieth century. During the lifetime of Habib Haidar neither of his two brothers, Taqi Haidar and 'Ali Haidar, made any murids in their own name. They only began to when Taqi Haidar had become sajjada nashin.[5] The brother of the present sajjada nashin, Mujtaba Haidar, has not initiated many people. His murids are the daughter-in-laws and the wife of the sajjada nashin. A wife can not become murid of her husband in Kakori. As husband-wife relations are mainly seen in sexual terms and piri-muridi relations in terms of piety and sanctity, the two concepts

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[1] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 616.

[2] 'Alawi, *Mashahir*, pp. 66, 125, 131, 151, 400; 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 203.

[3] *'Alawi, Mashahir*, p. 483.

[4] See Appendix I.i.

[5] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, pp. 793, 820-1.

clash.[1]

Partition imposed new problems on taking bai'at. Those who had migrated to Pakistan could not send their children back to continue the links with the shrine. Eventually Shah Mujtaba Haidar went to Pakistan on a visit. His brother the sajjada nashin could not leave the khanqah. Mujtaba Haidar took with him a shawl of the type the sajjada nashin was usually wearing. On it was a sandalwood hand imprint of his brother. In Pakistan those people who were eager to become murids held on to one end of the rumali while Mujtaba Haidar held the other one. Thus the people entered the silsila in the name of his brother. Shah Mustafa Haidar had told his brother: "Why don't you make murids yourself? You have the ijazat and khilafat." But his brother insisted that he could not, that it was against the respect for the sajjada nashin.[2]

The sajjada nashin of the Khanqah Kazimiya held the ijazat in a number of silsilas. The predominant orders were the Qadariya and the Qalandariya. When a seeker wanted to take bai'at he could state his preference for the particular order in which he wanted to be initiated. If the murid-to-be had no preference he would be given bai'at in the Qadariya.[3] At the time of Shah Turab 'Ali the initiation was also tied to a geographical concept. Turab 'Ali held the ijazat and khilafat in the Qalandariya from three different places, Kakori, Damgarah and Laharpur. According to the home town of the people he made them murids. He gave those coming from Laharpur and Khairabad the initiation in the silsila Qalandariya Rahmaniya (traced back via Shah 'Abd Allah Qalandar Laharpuri), those from Allahabad, Jaunpur, Azamgarh in the Qalandariya Mas'udiya (via Shah Mas'ud

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[1] Interview with Dr.M.A. Alavi, 5 September 1992.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Interview with Dr.M.A. Alavi, 26 April 1992.

'Ali Qalandar Allahabadi), and those people from Lucknow and Kakori he initiated in the Qalandariya Kazimiya (traced through his father).[1] This geographical division was based on the idea of wilayat. There the sufi saints divided the territory between themselves into their various spiritual domains. Each saint had his sphere of influence in which he recognised no one beside himself. People who came from outside his spiritual kingdom were referred back to their correct saint. Granting a person bai'at according to his origins was an acceptance of the spiritual sway of that particular sajjada nashin.[2] Later on, during Shah 'Ali Anwar's lifetime for example, this elaborate concept had become simplified. If a person left the decision about his silsila to 'Ali Anwar he made him murid in the Qadariya.[3] There was no great difference between the various silsilas in this period; the important fact was that one was a murid "so that a connection was present"[4] to a saint.

The most important thing for the prospective murid was to find the right pir. Although there were sufi shrines scattered all over Awadh and UP the individual seeker had not always an easy task finding a saint to his liking. "When I and Ya'qub 'Ali were in search of a pir," Mir Hamid 'Ali describes,

> we travelled to many places and we presented ourselves before Miyan Shir Muhammad (Philibhit), Ahmad Miyan (Ganj Moradabad), Damar Miyan and Amjad Miyan (Safipur), Mawlwi Akbar 'Ali Danapuri, Mawlwi Nizar Ahmad (Agra), Mawlwi Rashid Ahmad and khalifa Mahbub Ahmad (Mainpuri), Miyan Ahsan Allah Shah (Dargauli, zilla Etawah), and Mawlwi Ahsan 'Ali, khalifa of Mawlana Fazl al Rahman (Shaikhpur). But nowhere

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[1] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 391; 'Alawi, *Nafhat*, p. 411.

[2] See also Eaton, "The Political and Religious Authority of the Shrine of Baba Farid", p. 341; and S. Digby, "The Sufi Shaikh as a Source of Authority in Mediaeval India", in M. Gaborieau, ed., *Islam et Societe en Asie du Sud*, Éditions de l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris, 1986, pp. 62-3.

[3] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 512.

[4] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, p. 711.

did we like to become murid.[1]

Fifty years earlier Shah Iradat Allah, resident of Muhamdi, had found it equally difficult to find a source of spiritual nourishment. He had also been to some of the same places.

> For three years he went to all the famous places: Bareilly, Budaun, Delhi, Pakpattan, Ajmer, Philibhit, Laharpur, Kheri, Rudauli, Salon, Ganj Moradabad etc.[2]

but nowhere did he find his kind of mystic. Some seekers decided to go on hajj after their quest for a pir proved unsuccessful; and with the immigration of a number of sufi saints to Mecca after 1857, especially Haji Imdad Allah (1817-1899)[3], this was also a last chance to find a guide from their own country.[4] A person in search of muridship would normally enter the circle of the sajjada nashin at the place which he was visiting and would look at how the spiritual affairs were conducted.[5] The sajjada nashin in Kakori encouraged the visitor to stay for some time, to observe the behaviour of the sajjada nashin and his followers and to listen to what the people had to say about the shrine.[6] This time of waiting gave both parties a chance to look each other over. Only very rarely was a person made murid right away when no previous connection with the shrine existed. For the pir it was not done to solicit actively for murids[7] and very often he would refuse to give

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[1] *Ibid.*, II, pp. 760-1.

[2] 'Alawi, *Nafhat*, p. 546; 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 489.

[3] A sufi shaikh who migrated to Mecca and was the pir of many reformist ulama.

[4] 'Alawi, *Nafhat*, pp. 436, 547; 'Alawi, *Azkar*, pp. 406, 489.

[5] 'Alawi, *Nafhat*, p. 436; 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 406.

[6] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, p. 71.

[7] C.E. Farah, "Rules Governing the Šayh-Muršid's Conduct", *Numen*, Vol. XXI, Fasc.2, p. 86.

bai'at to a person for some time, claiming that he was not the correct guide for him.[1] The giving and taking of bai'at involved obligations and responsibilities on both sides and therefore both parties had to be convinced of their opposite's sincerity and love.

Sometimes hopeful murids were referred to Kakori by other mystics. People came to Haji Sulaiman Shah, a majzub, who lived in Meerut and

> asked him to make them murid. He told them: "I do not make murids." They asked him: "Where can we be murids?" He would reply: "Brother, if you want my advice, become murid in Kakori. I have seen many sajjadas but one like Kakori I have not seen anywhere else."[2]

Similarly Shah Ahmad Kurswi told people to go to Kakori after his death and to become murid there.[3] Some of the sajjada nashins of Takiya Sharif were however not too pleased by this kind of ordered bai'at. As Shah Habib Haidar spelled this out clearly to his own khalifa who refused to make murids: "It is better that you make him your murid, because, really, he has faith in you. And only because you told him so has he decided to take bai'at from me."[4] And that was what it was all about: having faith in the guide.

The search for the right pir did not necessarily only take place during waking moments. Interaction between prospective guide and follower took also place in dreams. Once a person had been in contact with Takiya Sharif, Kakori, either before or during his search for a guide, it was nothing unusual for the motivation to make bai'at there to be triggered off by a dream or a sequence of dreams. Mawlana Amjad 'Ali 'Alawi had his doubts about bai'at removed by the third of his dreams involving Shah Turab 'Ali

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[1] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 420.

[2] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, pp. 883-4.

[3] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 377.

[4] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, p. 805.

Qalandar.

> I was standing in the room at the gate of our old house. Turab 'Ali was coming back from the town and was returning to Takiya Sharif. I got up and went with him to give him company. After going some way he asked me: "Why are you coming with me? You have no faith in me." Then he said: "I have so much power (qudrat) that I can also take out my own eyes." Saying this he took out his eyes and put them on his palm. The eyes were moving. Then I woke up. I understood that this was an indication to take bai'at. Therefore the next morning, Friday, I took my younger brother Hafiz Wahid 'Ali and presented myself to become murid. Shah Turab 'Ali said to me: "Why did you come?" I explained. Then he said: "Why do you want to become murid? You have no faith in me." I told him: "Now I have." He made us both murids.[1]

This type of interaction was sometimes taken one step further and the dreamer was granted bai'at in his dream. This was called uwaisi bai'at (bai'at in absence, without a living person). It was however not accepted as the real thing in Kakori, and Shah Habib Haidar was found quoting Mir 'Abd al Wahid Bilgrami: "It is not considered bai'at until done by the hands of a living pir", when told about uwaisi bai'at.[2] The struggle whether to take bai'at or not was also acted out in dreams. Shaikh 'Aziz al Din Haidar who was a frequent visitor to the khanqah and whose two brothers had both taken bai'at from there, experienced his own shortcomings in his dreams. Although he pleaded to become murid - in his dreams - he could never meet the conditions set to him by the sajjada nashin. He did not become murid.[3] Dream action had of course, a great importance for Muslims and the events taking place in them reflected directly upon their daily lives.

The material dealt with so far has been almost exclusively concerned with men making bai'at. Women made bai'at too. The only difference in the actual ritual was that

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[1] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 401.

[2] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, p. 818.

[3] *Ibid.*, II, p. 728.

while the sajjada nashin touched a male murid candidate, a woman would be initiated through holding on to a cloth.[1] For women it was more difficult to travel in search of a pir and many female murids of Kakori would come from the qasbah itself and its environs. The ladies of the Kakori service families featured prominently amongst them.[2] In some cases the pir came to the family house when the women wanted to take bai'at,[3] in other instances the women went to the shrine.[4] The relationship between murida and pir after bai'at could be as intense as between male follower and guide. Indeed, after the marriage of one of his women murids when the list of his dowry was completed the sajjada nashin said: "Write down that the pir is also included in her dowry."[5]

At the time of making bai'at the pir passed on some advice and instruction to his murid. He taught the newly made murid some spiritual exercises and how to control his breathing. But the advice given contained much more. Muhammad Haidar Hasan 'Abbasi wrote down the words which his pir Habib Haidar said to him on becoming murid. After telling him that he would not teach him many spiritual exercises apart from controlled breathing, reading the shijra etc. he instructed him to observe the five daily prayers. And

> Whenever you decide to go on hajj then remember this that going on hajj is not done to improve your social status nor for any other such reason. If you want to go on hajj then only hajj should be your motive. If your heart wants to set out on the way to God, then first do your job, this will happen later.
>
> As far as possible stop spending your earnings on yourself and give

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[1] Interview with Dr.M.A. Alavi, 26 April 1992; 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, p. 767.

[2] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, pp. 765-70; 'Alam, *'Uyun*, p. 52. See also for example Muhammad Hasan 'Abbasi Kakorwi, *'Abbasiyan-i Kakori*, 1945, pp. 164, 165, 166, etc.

[3] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, p. 856.

[4] *Ibid.*, II, pp. 766-7.

[5] *Ibid.*, II, p. 845 fn. 1.

more money to your father and mother and uncle.

Prayer at the time of prostration: Pray that God grant you his love, that the Prophet grant you his love and that the pir grant you his love; that God give your uncle confidence and believe, and that his present difficulties be removed. Pray for your happy end. When you pray for your own good end then pray also for my good end. If I am forgiven (by God) then you are like my son and I will also forgive you. And if you are forgiven then pray for my being forgiven.

The night of the second day after becoming murid: If some doubt or worry comes to you then concentrate on me. God willing I will always be with you. And until now when you have not yet been my murid I have been watching you.

One thing you should especially remember, is this, that no harm will ever come to the loving relationship which you have with me. Now there is nothing else, I tell you. Your uncle is my friend, he has said many things to me but I was never angry with him because of our friendship. But brother, this is a relationship of faith and that is totally different. If you have some doubts about me, and they will surely come, then be never without faith. Understand this: you have faith in me and the doubts are within you, they are not separate from you.[1]

The basic motivation for people to seek a pir was their felt need for a guide in spiritual and worldly matters. Making bai'at meant for the individual to put himself into the hands of the guide and to accept his guide's decisions. Overtly the guide was only necessary in the spiritual sphere but since life and religion were one entity the pir's influence was over the whole life of the seeker. Which consequently meant that benefits could not only be reaped in the spiritual but also in the worldly domain. Munshi Shafi' al Din, once he had taken bai'at, put this rather succinctly: "The door to the benefits from God was opened for me. I had had no work, now I have work ..."[2]

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[1] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, I, pp. 429-30.

[2] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, p. 709.

Ministering to the constituency

After taking bai'at the newly made disciples became the responsibility of their pir. Referring to some murids of the khanqah Shah 'Ali Anwar stated:

> Wahaj al Din, Taj al Din, Wasim al Din and Hashm are mine. If any one of them is brought into hell, which is difficult to imagine, then I swear to God, I will jump into hell to get him out.[1]

And 'Ali Anwar Qalandar was not even referring to his own murids; the first three were the murids of his great uncle Taqi 'Ali Qalandar while the last was the disciple of his father, Shah 'Ali Akbar. In such a close knit unit as Takiya Sharif, Kakori, a follower could become the murid of one person, mostly the spiritually most senior, be the student of a second, and the companion and, occasionally, the khalifa of a third.[2] On the death of the sajjada nashin the care for his murids were passed on to his successor. And in taking over this responsibility the guide had to look after both the worldly and the spiritual worries and needs of his charges.

To cater effectively for the needs of his murids the pir had to know what these were. As his followers moved about the country the simple method of presenting themselves before the saint and informing him of their problems was not always practicable. Murids who worked or lived away communicated by letter with their pir. Sufi saints had for a long time instructed their followers by letter[3] and apart from the guidance

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[1] *Ibid.*, II, pp. 834-5.

[2] See for example the spiritual career of Munshi Wahaj al Din 'Uthmani in 'Alam, *'Uyun* (which is his biography); 'Alawi, *Mashahir*, pp. 476-9; 'Alawi, *Azkar*, pp. 575-85; 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, pp. 801-6.

[3] For a collection of letters from a fourteenth century Indian sufi see *Letters from Maneri: Sufi Saint of Medieval India*, trans. by P. Jackson, Horizon India Books, Delhi, 1990, and for a collection from twelfth century Morocco see *Ibn 'Abbad of Ronda: Letters*

offered in spiritual matters any other problem or decision, however mundane, was also dealt with. Hafiz Siraj al Din who worked as wakil in Hyderabad, for instance, sent Shah 'Ali Anwar every month a detailed list of his income and expenses. And Shah 'Ali Anwar monitored this account closely, rebuking his grandfather's disciple when money was uselessly spent or accounts left incomplete.[1] Although postal communications had been the norm for a long time an improved postal system meant that the murid could involve his pir much closer in everyday decisions and that the pir could also respond much faster to a disciple's request.

A very sufi way of communication was, of course, through dreams and visions. Here the follower found himself face-to-face with his guide enabling him to receive an answer to his question or a reassurance that he was being looked after straight away. The murid was also informed of events taking place elsewhere, especially of the death of a sajjada nashin.[2] They allowed the murids to be looked after while away and also announced important events of the shrine.

The basic reassurance which the pir gave to his murids was: 'I am always with you'. Even if a murid was far away his guide concentrated his thoughts on him, he paid attention to him. It was very important for the follower to have this feeling of being cared for and being loved, it allowed for a peacefulness of mind. The murid was not left alone

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on the Sufi Path, trans. by J. Renard, Paulist Press, Mahwah, 1986.
Kakori itself has at least four published and edited collections of letters, for instance, the letters of Shahs Muhammad Kazim and Turab 'Ali, *Mufadizat*, collected by Shah Habib Haidar, Rampur, 1910/1; or the letters of Shah 'Ali Anwar, *Jawhar al Ma'arif*, collected by Shah Taqi Haidar, Rampur, 1919/20. There is also the maktubat section in 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, pp. 434-654.

[1] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, pp. 533-4.

[2] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, I, p. 315, II, pp. 774-5; 'Alawi, *Azkar*, pp. 435, 570, 571-2.

to face dangerous situations and adversaries, to cope with disgruntled and irrational officers, to deal with tax demands and legal procedures, to search for patronage and employment. In his mind nestled the knowledge that, whatever his actions or thoughts, his guide was always with him. Even though the external world might have proved to be fraught with instability and insecurity, at least within himself the follower had a source of psychic security and stability.

Sometimes, however, the murid still found it difficult to leave his pir. Munshi Wahaj al Din had experienced such an overwhelming love in his youth for his guide that he did not want to leave him to find employment. When

> at last an appointment letter as a manager came from some place Shah 'Ali Anwar said: "Go". I [Munshi Wahaj al Din] again said: "I can not live for one minute apart from you." The shaikh replied: "You will not be separated, I am always with you. And if you don't go then I will fill your heart with worldly things. And your kaifiyat, state of ecstasy, will be destroyed." I forced myself and set out. I had not yet reached my destination when on the way I was attacked by doubts. Leaving the conveyance I stood on the ground and I started to say in a loud passionate voice: "You told me that you are with me. Why are you hiding now?" Saying this I saw Shah 'Ali Anwar standing only one yard away. This I saw with my own eyes. There was no connection between imagination and my sight. He said: "I am always with you. Do not worry." Thereafter whenever I paid attention to him (concentrated on him) at whatever time and in whatever condition I found him always with me.[1]

The murid was equally aware that no event or thought was hidden from the pir. Munshi Taj al Din once - in an attempt to test Shah 'Ali Anwar - went to Lucknow without telling him and spent the day shopping in the Chowk. On his return he was greeted by 'Ali Anwar Qalandar who told him meticulously every detail of his day.[2] This type of awareness of the guide prompted Munshi Shaida 'Ali 'Abbasi to ask Habib

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[1] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, pp. 527-8.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 532.

Haidar: "If a disciple is about to face some danger then how does the pir receive the news of it?" Habib Haidar answered him:

> You can think of it like this: when a man in his sleep is being bitten by a mosquito then without thinking he puts his hand on the place where the mosquito has been.[1]

This 'I am always with you' continued even after the death of a saint.[2] It expressed the closeness of the relationship between follower and guide; while the pir asserted his authority over the disciples he also ministered to the basic insecurities, needs and doubts of his follower.

Still, it was not always the saint himself who communicated with his disciples. Sometimes he ordered other fakirs to deal with them and their problems on his behalf. These 'other fakirs' were abdal and sahib-i khidmat.[3] Munshi Muhammad Shafi' Kazmi Kakorwi encountered one.

> In 1309 H [1891/2] I went in search of a job to Bhopal. I stayed there for some months but there was no hope [of finding employment]. At last I sent a request to Hazrat Sahib. He ordered me to meet the sahib-i khidmat and he described him to me. From that day the signs of [getting] employment began. I was searching for the sahib-i khidmat to meet him. At last one day I saw someone on the road who looked like the person described to me. I greeted him and he said: "Well, you are affecting me with your pressure. I have done your work, but in future don't try to meet me.[4]

At other times the sahib-i khidmat undertook duties of pastoral care and visited followers

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 615.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 528.

[3] Over time a strict hierarchy of saints had developed. They are graded according to their standing and most covet to be a qutb, the top position available to them. Of abdal there are seven or forty according to different sources, and of sahib-i khidmat, i.e. men who serve a saint, there are many more. See for example A. Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1975, p. 200 pp.

[4] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 535.

living away from Kakori. Their purpose was to discuss areas of worldly and spiritual concern with the murid. They also made predictions about future events. In their discussions they reflected the opinion and sayings of the murid's pir. "But", as Munshi Taj al Din put it to Shah 'Ali Anwar Qalandar, "it is very satisfactory to hear your sayings from others."[1] Khan Bahadur Taj al Din met with sahib-i khidmat regularly. They visited him after each new posting which he received. They were, however, not men of Kakori and had never ever been to Takiya Sharif or met his guide. Those who came to him were from Kaliar and Ajmer Sharif.[2] And whatever these people predicted that came true, so that the sting had been taken out of the insecurities of worldly life. Everyone whom he met told him: "Your Hazrat Sahib sent me to you for your satisfaction." While Hazrat Sahib (Shah 'Ali Anwar) summed it up as: "I have appointed these people for your welfare."[3]

One of the responsibilities of the pir was to reform the character of his disciples. "When Shah 'Ali Anwar owned someone", wrote Shah Taqi Haidar,

> he did not let that person destroy himself. If he did not reform someone with his grace of kindness (shan-i rahimi) then he would certainly do that with his grace of masterliness (shan-i rahmani). But he would correct him. He used to say: "It is not the work of a perfect one that when he owns someone he leaves him incomplete."[4]

The goal was to reform the murid in such a way that he became less concerned about worldly, material things and more focused on the way to God. The murid was conditioned to look upon all easy achievements, luxuries and pleasurable worldly things with disdain

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 514.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 514-5.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 515.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 546.

and to yearn for difficult struggles, frugality and hardship in his life. His was to negate the self and the desires of the self. He was to want nothing but his (eventual) union with God. He was to see all other elements in his life, be they animated or not, as cluttering up his path to God. This kind of reform tested the dedication of the disciple. A phrase often used to illustrate the point was

> If God wants to make a person his own, then he confronts him with worries. So that all the worldly relations can be cut and only the truth, haqq, remains for him.[1]

This did not mean that the pir did not sympathize with the murid but as Shah Habib Haidar said it when he saw Nawab 'Abd al Karim Khan struggle with his worldly worries: "I feel very sorry whenever I see Nawab Sahib in this state of worrying. But what can I do? It is because of the kindness which he had asked for."[2] On the other hand a follower who was not made to struggle in the external world for his internal reform would regret that. Mawlwi Muhammad Hashm put the following to Shah Habib Haidar in his last illness:

> The world which has passed, has passed, and, by the grace of God, it went well. But the internal situation is not right. You make it better. You, sir, call me 'uncle' and pay respect to me. This respect is very harmful to me. This person is so deprived, he should not be deprived.[3]

What Muhammad Hashm was regretting was having had too easy a life. His deprivation was being paid respect to by Shah Habib Haidar. The harm caused was that he was not made to feel like a humble ordinary person by the shaikh. Instead of being called 'uncle' by his pir's son he would rather have been granted some 'kindness' in form of worldly

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[1] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, p. 871, similar p. 847.

[2] *Ibid.*, II, p. 847.

[3] *Ibid.*, II, p. 835.

problems and hardship which would have helped him to combat his self. Shah 'Ali Haidar tells us of an incident which made the point even more strongly.

> Some murids of my father [Shah 'Ali Anwar Qalandar] described their dreams before Shah Habib Haidar and stated that they had seen their guide and he granted them decent and delicious things to eat. One day Habib Haidar listened to such a dream from a gentleman ... and said: "Whenever you have a dream it is like this that your pir-o murshid has granted you delicious things to eat? And you never see this dream that your guide has slapped you?" On hearing this the man was very amazed. Then Shah Habib Haidar said: "If the guide had slapped you then it will lead to your internal reform and by giving you good food where is the reform? Because that is only nourishment for the self."[1]

One need often perceived by disciples was protection against spirits and spiritually powerful men. The murid saw himself in danger of being possessed through spiritual might. The pir saw that someone else was trespassing on his property. When Munshi Wahaj al Din went to Kanpur with Zaki 'Alikhan Kakorwi they decided to visit Shah Allahi Bakhsh, a majzub. "He was sitting outside [his house]", explained the Munshi,

> We met him with great respect. He asked about pan and offered the box with pan to everyone. At last it was offered to me. In the pan box were only two pan left. I said: "First you take yours. And then give it to me." Shah Allahi Bakhsh liked my manners and he took one pan for himself and one he gave to me. He was murmuring something in intoxication. I lifted my head and saw his eyes. They were in a strange condition. It seemed as if a flame was coming out of them. And that flame was advancing towards me. The kaifiyat of intoxication and exhilaration came on me. I thought that I was dying. I was not completely senseless when I saw Shah 'Ali Anwar. He came between me and that majzub. Then the condition subsided. When I returned to Kakori Shah 'Ali Anwar Qalandar said: "You are saved. Otherwise that majzub would have turned you into one as well."[2]

The guide could, of course, also inform the offending party that they were encroaching on his territory. A Mawlwi in Hyderabad who was praying for a murid of Shah Habib Haidar's father was told by Habib Haidar: "Who are you to read [the prayer]? What is

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[1] *Ibid.*, II, p. 824.

[2] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 527.

it to you, he is mine."[1] Similarly, Shah Turab 'Ali Qalandar made his feelings quite clear to a buzurg of the Naqshbandi order who had allowed one of Turab 'Ali's murids to participate in his circle. "In a dream that buzurg saw Shah Turab 'Ali who was very angry with him and heard him say: "You do your things and I do mine."[2]

While it was the pir's job to look after his follower, it was the disciple's duty to have implicit faith in his guide. If he did not have that punishment could follow. This Munshi Murtaza 'Ali Sandili found out to his own cost.

> At the time of my LLB exam I had no time to spare and was not ready for it [the exam]. I said that to Shah Habib Haidar Qalandar and he replied: "Take the exam, you will be passed." After the exam I went into town with a few friends from Aligarh College. Those people had persuaded me to go with them to a Hindu fakir to find out about the future. The fakir prophesied that I would pass [the exam]. And I had faith in him. One week before the exam results were due my friend who was a murid of Haji Warith 'Ali Shah[3] dreamt that I would fail [the exam]. The reason for it was that I had no faith in the person I should have had faith in and that I had faith in a person in whom I should not have had faith. And therefore I was failed.[4]

People also needed protection from jinns[5]. The world of humans and jinns was

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[1] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, p. 698.

[2] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 486.

[3] See Chapter 4.

[4] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, pp. 713-4.

[5] A jinn is the spiritual being most likely to be encountered by humans. Although a jinn can be benevolent the majority of them are evil spirits. Their's are powers and knowledge unknown to humans apart from those termed "masters of knowledge" which include certain sufi saints. For more details see R. Kriss and H. Kriss-Heinrich, *Volksglaube im Bereich des Islams*, Otto Harrossowitz, Wiesbaden, 1962, Vol. II: *Amulette, Zauberformeln und Beschwörungen*, p. 14 pp. For different ways of dealing with jinns see S. Kakar, *Shamans, Mystics and Doctors: A Psychological Inquiry into India and Its Healing Traditions*, Mandala Books, London, 1982, chapter 2; and V. Crapanzano, *The Hamadsha: A Study in Moroccan Ethnopsychiatry*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1972.

closely entwined and it was nothing unusual for a person to be possessed or haunted by a jinn. It was also nothing unusual for a pir to give bai'at to a jinn.[1] We are told that Shah Muhammad Kazim Qalandar and the king of the jinns came to an understanding: "I will not object to [the work of] your children and followers and you will not object to mine."[2] That meant on the one hand that murids of Takiya Sharif should not interfere with the work of jinns but on the other it also meant that a disciple should be left alone by the spirits. When Munshi 'Abd al Nur Sandili's brother, 'Abd al Mabud, was affected by a jinn it was visible in a number of ways.

> In the house pebbles fell down, there were brick showers and money fell down. ... One day the jinn was overpowered. In the beginning he seemed to be very powerful, but when Shah Habib Haidar's name was mentioned, he went cold. We told the jinn: "Send your father, we will not talk to you." After the father had been overpowered he said: "My son is very naughty, he should not harm you. Make 'Abd al Mabud a murid of Habib Haidar Qalandar then he will do nothing against him." Therefore he became murid and the series of events was stopped.[3]

'Abd al Mabud had come under the authority of a pir. If becoming murid of Takiya Sharif was not enough protection, the power of jinns and fairies could be broken through either a ta'wiz or the direct intervention of the guide. The pir's interest in and concentration on the afflicted person was often enough to remove the offending spirit.[4] Evil spirits could of course haunt people not only in real life but also in dreams.[5] But there again the murid

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[1] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, pp. 376, 440.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 399; 'Ali Anwar 'Alawi, *Hawz al Kawthar* which had been begun by Taqi 'Ali 'Alawi as *Rawz al Azhar fi Mazar al Qalandar* and was edited and given a foreword called *Muwahhab al Qalandar* by Muhammad Habib Haidar 'Alawi, published in two parts, Rampur and Lucknow, 1917/8, p. 666.

[3] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, pp. 740-1.

[4] *Ibid.*, II, p. 742.

[5] *Ibid.*, II, pp. 753-4.

stood under the protection of his pir.

There were, however, spiritual figures to whom no pir objected when they approached his followers. It was a desire of all murids, indeed of many Muslims worldwide, to be visited (ziyarat) by the core people of early Islam. A ziyarat of the Prophet or of one of the founders of the sufi orders like 'Abd al Qadir Gilani was a crowning achievement in the spiritual career of a murid. The 'effectiveness' of the pir was measured to some extend in terms of his ability to introduce his followers to these very special people.[1] When in the beginning a murid did ziyarat to the Prophet it was usually done in the shape or face of his guide. This was what set apart the real guide from other guides.[2] But not only the followers of that saint could do ziyarat to the Prophet in his face, the special gift of Shah Habib Haidar, for instance, was that also those attached to other tariqas could achieve it. Mawlwi Mufti 'Abd al Qadir Ansari Farangi Mahali had this experience:

> In a dream I saw that Mawlana 'Abd al Bari said to me: "Come with me to Medina." Therefore I accompanied him. We walked and reached near a tomb. Standing in front of the tomb Mawlana ['Abd al Bari] began to recite ... [a certain prayer]. He kept reciting it for some time. Suddenly the tomb opened. We saw that a buzurg was lying in it. Then he lifted himself up, sat up and half his body was out of the tomb. His face was that of Shah Habib Haidar. He wanted to spit something out and I caught it with both my hands. What he had spat out was pan and I ate it. I saw the face of the Prophet on Shah Habib Haidar.[3]

If after reciting the special prayers in the evening the Prophet failed to appear at night and -only- the pir turned up then this was due to the murid's inability. Mawlwi Wasim al Din

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[1] For examples relating to Hindu followers see 'Alawi, *Azkar*, pp. 523-4, 538-9; 'Alawi, *Usul*, pp. 437-8.

[2] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, I, pp. 160-1.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, p. 161.

advised:

> Your ability is not so high that you are granted the ziyarat of the Prophet in his [the guide's] face. Because your guide is the last appearance of the Prophet and because of the beauty of his face and the perfection of meaning ... [the prayer] produces the ziyarat of the pir.[1]

His recommendation was to concentrate harder after permission had been granted by the guide. While some encounters with the Prophet could thus be forced through preparative prayers these visits took also place without inducement.[2] But however they came about meetings with the Prophet, who was the central figure of Islam, were highly valued. The pir by allowing the murid to communicate directly with Muhammad ministered to a need and desire of his follower.

Visitations by other special people belonging to earlier times were also encountered. Since Takiya Sharif, Kakori, belonged to the Qadariya silsila Shaikh 'Abd al Qadir Gilani, its alleged founder, put in an occasional appearance with the disciples. Munshi Wahaj al Din tells us that in one dream on reaching his murshid's room in Takiya Sharif he found there to be two people of similar face, dress and appearance. Both looked like Shah Taqi 'Ali Qalandar. While Wahaj al Din was still speculating who the other person was his guide said:

> "This is 'Abd al Qadir Gilani. Kiss his feet." I kissed his feet and he put his hand on my back. He took out two laddu [Indian sweets] and gave them to me. And he granted a whole filled basket to Shah Taqi 'Ali. I said: "You have given all the laddus to Hazrat Sahib and only gave two to me." Gilani replied: "I have given these to him also for you." I started crying in my extreme of happiness." I opened my eyes. In the morning when I was in the presence of Shah Taqi 'Ali I wanted to tell him about the dream. But before I could do so he said to those around him: "If any of you has seen me with the face of 'Abd al Qadir Gilani, what is so surprising about that?

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[1] *Ibid.*, I, p. 163.

[2] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, pp. 720-3; 'Alawi, *Azkar*, pp. 510-1.

I am also one of his slaves."[1]

Followers were also introduced to other dead saints within whose territory the murids were living or working. It is again an acknowledgement of the concept of wilayat[2]. The disciple was introduced to the saint in whose domain he was present. Munshi Wahaj al Din:

> I had become deputy collector in Bahraich. After two or three months when I sat down, being completely awake, I suddenly saw Shah 'Ali Akbar coming to me. This happened in 1325 H [1906/7]. He was walking very swiftly at that time and he talked with great speed. It was difficult to understand him. He said: "Wahaj al Din, come. You should meet Saiyid Salar Mas'ud Ghazni[3]." I got up and went with him. And instead of the grave I saw Saiyid Salar Mas'ud sitting. He was young and beautiful. Then 'Ali Akbar Qalandar vanished.[4]

A ziyarat of the highest order was that of God. It was only granted to a selected few. It showed on the one hand the nearness of the guide to God as he could introduce his followers to him and on the other it showed the ability of the follower to reach up into those spheres. It will have become clear by now that Munshi Wahaj al Din was a follower who could rise to such heights. Once during a serious illness he spoke in disrespectful terms about God.

> Everybody in the house was frightened (mortified) that during the last time of my life instead of reciting the kalima such words were coming out of

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[1] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 510.

[2] See this chapter, 'Making Bai'at'.

[3] Reputedly a warrior saint of the eleventh century buried in Bahraich in eastern UP, popularly known as Ghazi Miyan. His grave is venerated by Hindus and Muslims alike attracting hugh crowds. Local fairs in his name can be found in many regions of UP. For more information see K. Gräfin von Schwerin, "Saint Worship in Indian Islam: The Legend of the Martyr Salar Masud Ghazi", in I. Ahmed, ed., *Ritual and Religion Among Muslims in India*, Manohar, Delhi, 1984, pp. 143-61; and T. Mahmood, "The Dargah of Sayyid Salar Mas'ud Ghazi in Bahraich: Legend, Tradition and Reality", in C.W. Troll, ed., *Muslim Shrines in India: Their Character, History and Significance*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1989, pp. 24-43.

[4] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 479.

> my mouth. What would be the result? But I had no care. And I did not stop saying bad names. I became senseless or fell asleep. I dreamt that at once Shah 'Ali Anwar came very quickly. He said to me: "Would you like to meet God?" I replied: "I would not only like to but I also want to." 'Ali Anwar returned and after a little while God was present. He was with Shah 'Ali Anwar. God said to me: "You will be well."[1]

After a few days Munshi Wahaj al Din regained his health.

While the Muslim followers of the pir were filled with happiness and enjoyment by these visits and interventions into their lives by Islamic figures of importance, Hindu followers were catered for separately. They experienced the ziyarat of Krishna and other Hindu gods and goddesses. They did so also in the face or shape of the murshid.

> "He [Krishna] has also my face," said Shah Muhammad Kazim. Dan Shah, his pir bhai, replied: "Until we see this we will not have any faith in it." Muhammad Kazim said: "Then you will see." During the same night it happened that he [Dan Shah] saw Shah Muhammad Kazim with the face of Krishna. In the morning when he came he said: "Yes, you have spoken the truth."[2]

Appearing in the form of Hindu gods was for the saints an expression of tawhid. It was yet another way of reaching out to their followers and helping them achieve their spiritual potential. The pir acted as mediator between his followers and dead figures of spiritual authority; Hindu or Islamic they were seen as the same expression of God. The guide was the introduction agent allowing his murids to be visited by the Prophet, Krishna or God.

Ministering to his constituency also meant the saint asserting his authority over murids in their working life. Mawlwi Ziya al Din Haidar, Assistant Director in the Department of Agriculture, explained:

> During the time of my service in Bhopal State in 1920 I had organised on my own initiative an agricultural exhibition. A letter came from Habib Haidar to inform me that the date of the wedding of his younger brother

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 521.

[2] 'Alawi, *Usul*, pp. 436-7; 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 361.

> Shah 'Ali Haidar Qalandar had been fixed. It was the same date on which I had arranged the agricultural fair to take place. I was extremely worried as to how I would be able to attend the wedding function. Because I was his servant I sent a letter to Shah Habib Haidar and waited impatiently for his reply. In the answer he wrote: "It is the last function for my father, Shah 'Ali Anwar Qalandar, therefore your presence is compulsory. You will get leave from your job and you will be here with ease. You should strive to be present." On reading this letter I was amazed to receive the order from the government of the Begums of Bhopal that because of the change of season (climate) the exhibition had been postponed and would take place in the same season in the coming year. According to the order of Shah Habib Haidar I was present at the happy occasion.[1]

Mawlwi Ziya al Din faced the same dilemma again later when another agricultural exhibition clashed with a fatiha held in Kakori. Again the exhibition was postponed.[2] But it was not always that easy to combine government service with the duties of a good murid. Work could not always be postponed, officers could not always be left waiting. When Mawlwi Nizam al Din Haidar attended the 'urs he knew that for his brother, Ziya al Din, to be able to come he would have to return to Kanpur and fill in for him at work.[3] Disciples always tried to be present during the main 'urs not only to honour the present sajjada nashin but also his ancestors, the very special dead.

Murid and pir were locked into a very close relationship with mutual duties and responsibilities. The murid desired to be under the protective umbrella of his shaikh to keep all harm at arm's length, while the pir was concerned that the disciple did not seek shelter anywhere else and continued to look upon the pir as the fountain of all help.

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[1] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, p. 684.

[2] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 643.

[3] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, pp. 689-90.

> Shah Mustafa Haidar Qalandar, the present sajjada nashin of Takiya Sharif, was holding his morning surgery. He sat in the room accordingly called Sajjadawala Kamra where from the times of Shah Turab 'Ali Qalandar the sajjada nashin had sat and received the people.[1] Shah Mustafa Haidar sat next to the masnad at one end of the three doored room overlooking the length of it. Next to him was his special servant, in front of him his water pipe, spittoon and the things necessary for giving ta'wiz. Some family members sat at one side of the room or stood outside of it to help with managing the constant stream of visitors.
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> Those who had come to ask for his advice sat in various groups in the room, all facing the sajjada nashin. Both men and women had covered their heads out of respect for Shah Mustafa Haidar and his ancestors. When their turn came each party was motioned to come forward to explain their problems. They touched the sajjada's feet and greeted him. Those who had brought sweets or cloths handed them over while the sajjada nashin established to which family they belonged and from where they had come. Then he listened patiently to each supplicant only interrupting to ask more detailed questions.
>
> There was the man who had come to seek a cure for hair loss and baldness, the college student who had to sit an exam, a couple who had remained childless and a businessman who was facing a law suit. Some asked the sajjada nashin to bless some water by blowing over it, some wanted a written amulet either to wear it or to dissolve it in water and drink it, and some wanted a ta'wiz made out of silver, for which they had to pay Rs. 15/- to cover the cost of the silver. The college student had brought his pen to be blessed. The sajjada nashin had words for each one of them, and in giving advice he was scolding some and comforting others. Each person whose case had been dealt with expressed his gratitude and moved out of the room without letting Shah Mustafa Haidar out of his sight. The shoes which had been taken off before entering the room were collected and the parties left the khanqah complex. Some started their way home and others went to pay homage at the dargahs to the dead ancestors of the sajjada nashin.[2]

The scene described above is that of the saint holding court. In its ceremonial and constituent parts - person of authority, petitioners - it is very similar to a durbar of a landlord or a governor. But whereas the court of landed magnates and Nawabs had to deal

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[1] 'Alawi, *Azarat*, p. 7.

[2] Personal observation, 21 June 1992.

only with this-worldly issues, the sajjada nashin faced supplicants who had also come with spiritual queries.

Not only was the set up of the saint's court similar to that of worldly courts, so was the language and mannerisms, the adab, employed by the main actors. Take for example the style of greeting. A supplicant who came face to face with the sajjada nashin bowed, touched his feet and might have kissed his hand. Some kissed his feet. A petitioner at a taluqdar's court behaved in the same way. He indicated his own humbleness and the other's superiority through bowing and the touching of feet. Take also the language used. A supplicant addressing the saint called him: "Huzur"; in conversation he was referred to as "Hazrat Sahib". The meaning of "Huzur" is "presence; royal presence; presence of superior authority; the court; your Majesty, or Highness"[1] while "Hazrat" stands for "presence; dignity; a title applied to any great man; your Majesty, Excellency, Eminence, Worship, or Holiness"[2]. The petitioner at the worldly court used these terms of address as well. Both titles were ambiguous in that they were used for any person of authority, worldly or religious. Consider too the way of approaching authority. The supplicant on going to and from the saint did not turn his back on him. The behaviour of a petitioner at the landlord's court was the same. It was thought disrespectful to turn one's back to someone in authority. And take also the offering of gifts. Supplicants of the saint often brought sweets or cloths as a nazar which they gave before stating their request. A petitioner of worldly authority also gave nazar as a gift. The person who came to the saint stressed his own humbleness and worthlessness by saying: "I am nothing", sometimes even

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[1] J.T. Platts, *A Dictionary of Urdu, Classical Hindi and English*, Second Indian edition, Manohar, Delhi, 1988, p. 478.

[2] *Platts*, p. 478.

declaring himself to be a "slave", i.e. bound to the saint, while emphasising the other's exalted position in the same way as anyone before a worldly court did. Those who came to the court - saintly or worldly - came to petition for patronage. There was no difference in the way they approached the courts; all sources of power were treated in the same way.

Since the sajjada nashin was the source of spiritual power to have access to him and to be close to him was of great importance. This spiritual power, barakat, was due to the saint's position in relation to God. He was a wali, a friend of God. Those living within the orbit of the shrine had conceived a structure of the spiritual world which was closely modelled on that of their day-to-day experiences. The hierarchical structures of worldly power had thus been transferred to the spiritual world. "The general idea ... seems to be," explained Major O'Brien, Deputy Commissioner of the Punjab,

> that the Deity is a busy person, and that his hall of audience is of limited capacity. Only a certain proportion of mankind can hope to attain the presence of God; but when individuals have got there, they may have opportunities of representing the wishes and desires of other members of the human race. Thus, all human beings require an intervener between them and God, ...[1]

In this hierarchical world view the saint and his court played a key role. The follower had the desire to be near the barakat of saint or sajjada nashin. The khanqah was built in a way which expressed the centrality of the sajjada nashin.[2] For most of the year, barring the hot season, he lived in the rooms above the oldest part of the shrine. This was at the southern side of the most western of the three courtyards which together made up the largest living area within the shrine complex. Opposite the sajjada's rooms was, on the

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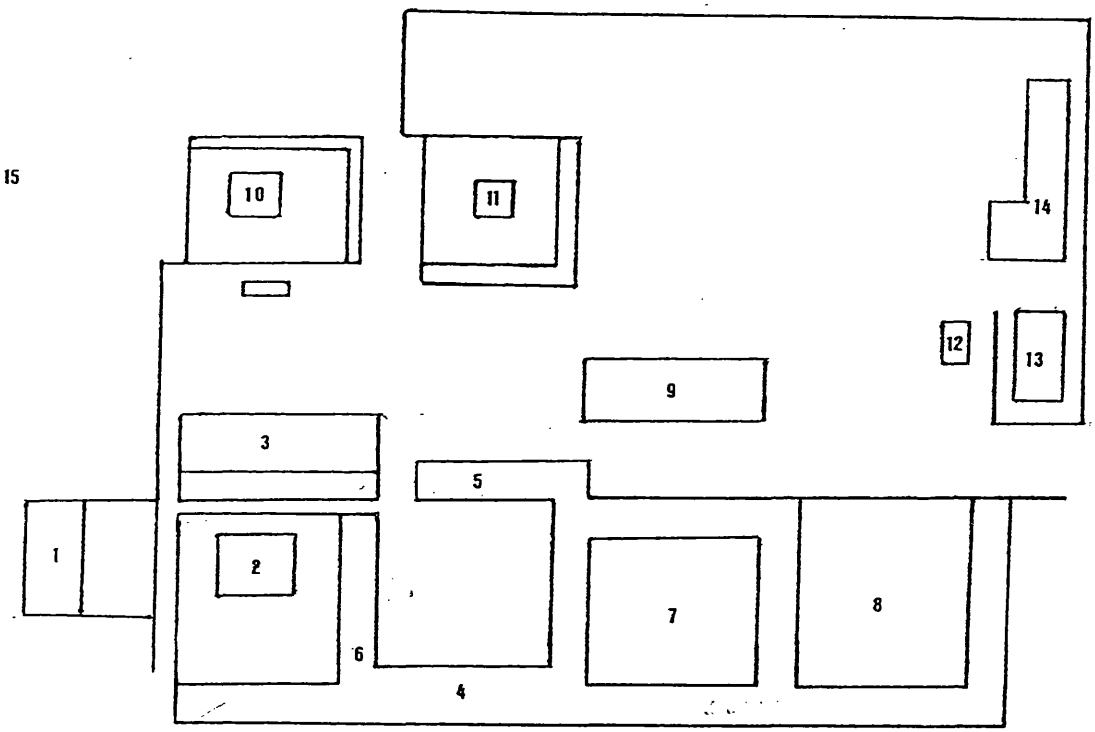
[1] A. O'Brien, "The Mohammedan Saints of the Western Punjab", *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1 (1911), p. 511.

[2] See Map: Takiya Sharif, Kakori.

Map: Takiya Sharif, Kakori



1) Mosque
2) Dargah of Shah Muhammad Kazim Qalandar
3) Baradari
4) Living quarters of the Sajjada Nashin
   (oldest part of the khanqah), built by Maharaja Tikait Rai
5) Sajjadawala ka Kamra (audience room of the sajjada nashin)
6) Kitabkhane Anwariya, Library
7) Neemwala ka Makan
8) Langar Khana
9) Platform for Sama'
10) Dargah of Shah Turab 'Ali Qalandar
11) Dargah of Shah 'Ali Anwar Qalandar
12) Mawlwi Nizam al Din Haidar 'Abbasi's House
13) Miss Sonabai Irani's House
14) Nawab 'Abd al Karim Khan's House
15) Family Graveyard

ground-floor, the Sajjadawala Kamra where he received the mass of petitioners.[1] To the east of this was the building called Neemwala ka Makan named after the big neem tree which grew in the courtyard. Here lived not only those disciples who were permanently at the khanqah but during 'urs a large number of visitors had their bedrolls there. The rooms of the Neemwala ka Makan got their names after the disciples who lived in them.[2] To the east of the Neemwala Makan was the kitchen with the third courtyard. During the time of Shah Turab 'Ali Qalandar khalifas of the shrine had lived in a building to the north of the mosque; the rooms there were also named after its most prominent residents.[3] For the 'urs additional buildings had been constructed to house all the visitors who came.[4] Then every corner of the khanqah was lived in and space was restricted. Three murids of the Shahs 'Ali Anwar and Habib Haidar had been allowed to build their own houses within the grounds of Takiya Sharif. One was Nawab Muhammad 'Abd al Rahim Khan, a taluqdar from Shahabad, zilla Hardoi. He came usually with his entourage for six

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[1] 'Alawi, *Azarat*, p. 6-7.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 14-5. In one room on the western side had lived first Hakim 'Abd al Rahim Khan Rampuri (c. 21 years); because of him the room is called Hakim Sahib ka Kamra. After him the brothers of Shah Habib Haidar, before they became sajjada nashins, stayed in it during the daytime and did their writings there. Nowadays it is used by the present sajjada nashin and his brother to rest in the afternoon. In the room and verandah to the north of this lived Mawlwi Ziya al Din Haidar 'Abbasi after his retirement in 1933 to his death in 1943. Then it was occupied by Mawlwi Murtaza 'Ali 'Alawi who lived there until his death in 1962. On account of its inhabitants the room is called Mawlwi Sahib ka Kamra. The room and verandah to the east of the courtyard is called Chawdhri Sahiban ka Kamra as the Chawdhris of Sandila stayed in it when they were present. To the south the room had the name Babuji ka Kamra because Babu Awadh Bihari Lal Nigam lived in it for about 22 years. After him it was inhabited by Munshi 'Ali Ahmad Kakorwi for c. 45 years.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 7. One area was called Insh Allah Miyan ka Dalan and the other was referred to as that of Shah Nizam 'Ali Qalandar.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 10, 12, 14.

months of the year.[1] One was Miss Sonabai Irani, the Parsi lady from Bombay.[2] And the third was Mawlwi Ziya al Din Haidar who stayed during the 'urs in his bungalow with his guests.[3] The sajjada nashin was therefore surrounded by his followers and the khanqah was a place full of life, far removed from the idea of a monastery or a convent. For those who came to the shrine to spend the last years of their life there the service to their pir was the most important thing. Mawlwi Ziya al Din Haidar who had been called back especially from his work to spent time with Shah Habib Haidar summed up his feelings after his guide's death after two years:

> My condition is like that of Imam Abu Hanifa who said: "If these two years had not been it would have been better to die." These two years were those in which he served the two Imams Muhammad Baqr and Ja'far Sadiq. I got the chance to spend those two years after retirement in the presence of Shah Habib Haidar and these are the only two years in my life. And the [only] successful years. And [there are] no others.[4]

But only physical closeness to the saint was not enough according to Munshi Jamil Ahmad Kakorwi:

> The real thing is near[ness to] the heart and external closeness of any kind is not enough. If this were enough then all those who are employed here [at Takiya Sharif] would be perfect.[5]

The dead saint in his tomb was no less a continuing source of power than his living counterpart was. The barakat which had adhered to the living saint was on his death transferred to his burial place. It thus remained as a fount of spiritual power to those

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 24.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 24; 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, p. 770.

[3] 'Alawi, *Azarat*, p. 30.

[4] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, p. 861.

[5] *Ibid.*, II, p. 858.

seeking advice and help. Graves, generally, were considered to be special areas, the places where heaven and earth were joined.[1] The dead saint's presence could be felt at his grave, and as he had reached through death his final goal, the union with God, his tomb was spiritually a very fertile ground. The place of the grave was especially favoured by God, which meant that things done or prayed for at the tomb were likely to receive more attention than somewhere else. Some people like Mulla Qudrat Allah Bilgrami went to a grave to do their spiritual exercises there.[2] Others, like Shah 'Ali Anwar Qalandar, undertook some work there. 'Ali Anwar completed the book *Hawz al Kawthar* on the grave of his great uncle Shah Taqi 'Ali. And although he did not consult any other books during his writing he was still able to make appropriate references to them.[3] Sometimes there was a visible response from the grave as in the case of Shah Naqi Yawar Khan. He meditated at the grave of Shah Muhab Allah Qalandar in Phulwari about where to take bai'at from. Suddenly a hand came out of the grave. It looked to him like the hand of Shah Turab 'Ali.[4] But it was not only the grave itself which was beneficial to the people. The things which had come into contact with it were beneficial too. When Chawdhri Fazl 'Azim came to Habib Haidar with incurable earache he was told:

> Go to the grave of your pir and sweep it. The dust and other things which you gather, put them into your ear. And by the grace of God, the inner part of your ear will heal again.[5]

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[1] P. Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1981, p. 1.

[2] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 381.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 501.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 405-6.

[5] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, p. 736.

The barakat of the saint which permeated his tomb allowed him to continue to act as a dispenser of patronage even in death.

The saint in his tomb had, of course, a court too. People approached his grave, termed dargah, with as much deference and humbleness as they approached the sajjada nashin or any other source of worldly authority. The word "dargah" itself underlines the concept of a court. It can either be translated as "tomb of some reputed saint, which is the object of worship and pilgrimage" or as "royal court",[1] thus indicating the similarities between the two. Supplicants who went to the dargah behaved in many ways similar to those who went to the sajjada nashin. In their own view they were not dealing with a stone grave but with the pir inside it. Before entering the dargah complex the petitioner, female and male, covered his head out of respect. Before entering the inner sanctum of the tomb, sometimes even before entering the courtyard of the dargah, a supplicant took off his shoes out of respect. On reaching the threshold of the tomb he bowed to the dead saint. Some people pressed their forehead on the doorstep, others kissed it.[2] The fatiha was recited for the buried saint. And when a petitioner talked to the dead one he addressed him in the same terms as the sajjada nashin with the word "Huzur". Just as a worldly patron had certain times when he held court so the buried saint was best approachable at particular times. The most auspicious occasion to go to the grave was on Thursday night. Although other times were also auspicious: Thursday morning, Friday after the congregational prayer, Saturday before sunrise, Shab-i Barat, 'Id and 'Ashura. There were a number of nights and some days throughout the year on which it was recommended to

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[1] *Platts*, p. 513.

[2] These are not uncontroversial practices, for an apologia see Mas'ud Anwar 'Alawi, *Tafsil Mazarat-i Sahiban-i "Khanqah Kazimiya Kakori"* [hereafter: 'Alawi, *Tafsil*], 1990, p. 5.

visit the graves as the spirits of the buried people were more approachable than usual.[1] Many of those who came to the tombs offered nazar to the dead saint. Some people vowed that if the saint fulfilled their wish then they would do something for him. This could involve either a further visit to the tomb (ziyarat) or the giving of alms to the poor.[2] The vow particularly popular in Kakori involved the contracting party to give a specific unit of meat, flour and curd which would then be cooked in the cauldron of the pir in the khanqah and given to the poor. Once a woman of Kakori had made this vow

> but after her wish had been fulfilled she forgot, by chance, to do the fatiha. In a dream she was then visited by [Bu 'Ali] Qalandar [founder of the Qalandariya order] who told her: "You have "contracted" for our fatiha but until now you have not done it." She apologised for forgetting about it and he replied: "Now do the fatiha." The next day she again did not think about it. In the night she was again visited [by Bu 'Ali Qalandar] and he advised her [to do it]. In the morning when she wanted to arrange for the fatiha she could not get any beef. Then in the night he [Bu 'Ali Qalandar] came again to her and she made the excuse that she did not get any beef. He answered: "If you can not find any cow's meat then do the fatiha with your son['s meat]." The lady was very worried and she presented herself to Shah Turab 'Ali and told him what had happened. He said: "Never be late in completing your vow. If you can not find any cow's meat then use goat's meat for cooking. And do the fatiha." The lady complied at once.[3]

On the other hand if the dead pir did not keep his side of the bargain it was the murid who could give him a talking to. Nothing as disrespectful as a full blown "humiliation"[4] something more in the line of a pointed reminder of his duties. Shaikh Muhammad Shafi'

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[1] Turab 'Ali 'Alawi, *Matlab-i Rashidi*, trans. into Urdu by Mustafa Haidar 'Alawi, Lucknow, n.d., p. 177.

[2] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, I, p. 403.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 404-5.

[4] In case of non-performance of saints some "communities went so far as to use a ritual of humiliation, in which the relics of the saint were taken from their shrine, put in full view of the community, and criticized in prayer and ritual curses." T. Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of Saints: The Diocese of Orleans, 800-1200*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990, p. 192.

'Alawi who failed to get employment on the Balrampur estate presented himself at the grave of his pir. After offering fatiha he said:

> Sir, after you have gone we have no longer a patron or a guardian and I am so worried that I do not know what to do. I will now go one more time to Balrampur and if I am again not successful then I will be compelled to look for another ... [shrine]. And in the future I will not be present again in Takiya Sharif.[1]

Both patron and client were locked into a contract in which each side had an obligation to the other. It was a very personal relationship whether it was between the supplicant and the saint in his grave, the supplicant and the saint in his surgery or the supplicant and a more worldly patron.

The grave of the saint was not only special to living supplicants but also to dead followers. Since he was a source of spiritual power it was important to be close to him - alive or dead. Those disciples and khalifas who died were keen to be buried in close proximity to their pir. This was seen as a guarantee of obtaining last benefits and salvation from their kind guides.[2] The three dargahs of Takiya Sharif were similarly structured in their outline.[3] In the middle was the grave of the saint. If more than one sajjada nashin were buried in the dargah they were all placed in fairly central positions underneath the central dome or in an annex to it. Around them, still within the domed structure, wives, mothers, sisters, fathers, brothers and sons were put to rest. Immediately around this inner sanctum more family members but also khalifas were buried. Further away but within the dargah complex other family members as well as more khalifas and murids had their graves. These graves were either on concrete platforms around the boundary walls of the

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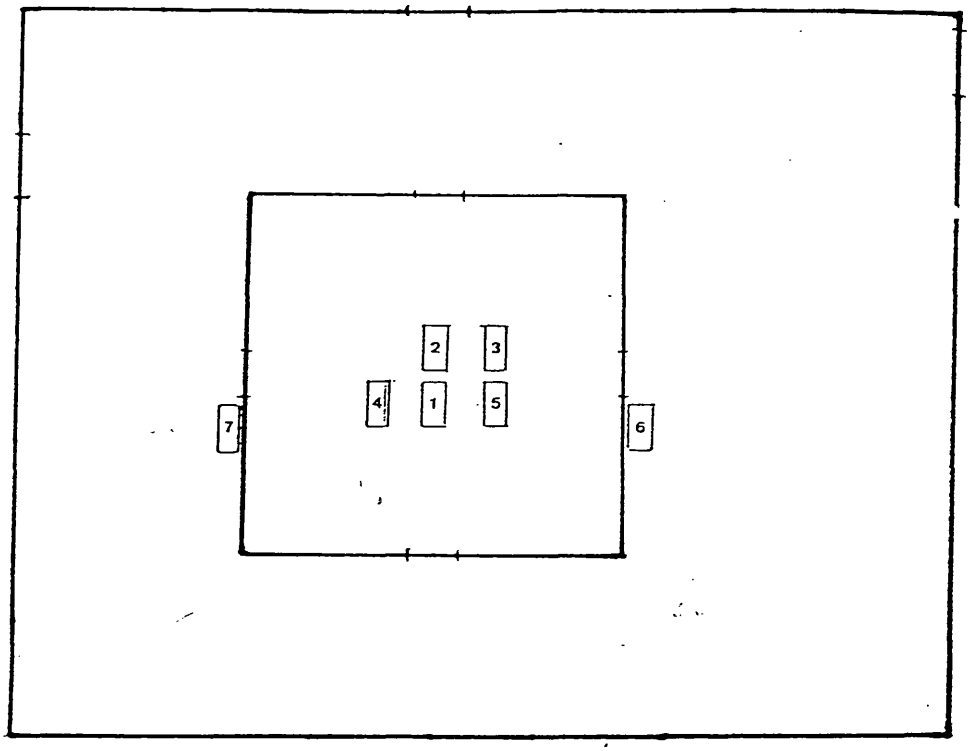
[1] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 612.

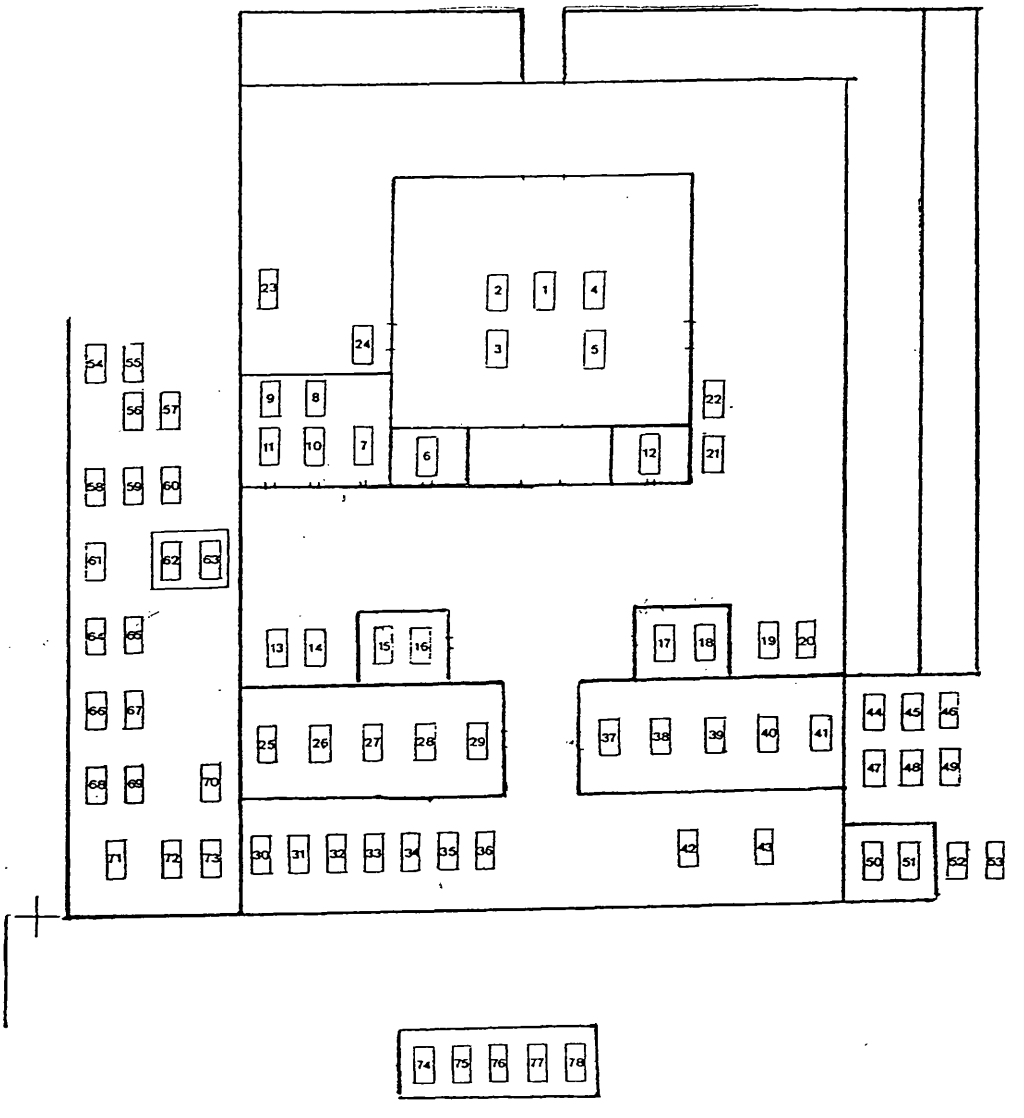
[2] 'Alawi, *Tafsil*, p. 55.

[3] See Maps of Dargahs.



* 1) Shah Muhammad Kazim Qalandar (d.1806)
2) Shah Muhammad Kashf Chishti (d.1785/6)
3) Shah Muhammad Kashf Chishti's wife
4) Shah Himayat 'Ali Qalandar (d.1811)
5) Shah Mir Muhammad Qalandar (d.1828)
6) Shah Rahim Basit (d.1893)
7) Shah Riza 'Ali (d.1863)

Map: Dargah of Shah Turab 'Ali Qalandar



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Map: Dargah of Shah Turab 'Ali Qalandar

* 1) Shah Turab 'Ali Qalandar (d.1858)
2) Shah Turab 'Ali's wife (d.1827)
3) Shah Haidar 'Ali's first wife
4) Shah Muhammad Kazim's wife (d.1831)
5) Shah Hakim Basit (d.1820)
* 6) Shah Haidar 'Ali Qalandar (d.1868)
* 7) Shah 'Ali Akbar Qalandar (d.1896)
8) Shah 'Ali Akbar's sister
9) Shah Wajid 'Ali Qalandar
10) Shah 'Ali Akbar's wife
11) Shah Majid 'Ali Qalandar
12) Shah Taqi 'Ali Qalandar (d.1873)
13) Shaikh Wahi al Din 'Uthmani's wife (d.1893)
14) Munshi 'Abd al Samad's wife (d.1912)
15) Shah Ikram 'Ali's wife
16) Shah Ikram 'Ali
17) Shah Zamin 'Ali
18) Shah Zamin 'Ali's wife
19) Mawlwi Zahid 'Ali
20) Mawlwi Sadiq 'Ali (d.1889)
21) Qazi Ahmad 'Ali Khan Kakorwi (d.1873)
22) Shah Taqi 'Ali's daughter (d.1910)
23) Shah 'Ali Akbar's daughter (d.1913)
24) lady from Amethi
25) Mawlwi Nazir 'Ali (d.1898)
26) Mawlwi Nazir 'Ali's wife
27) unknown female
28) Munshi Nur al Din Ahmad's wife (d.1934)
29) Shah Haidar 'Ali's second wife (d.1876)
30) Munshi Muhammad Istafa 'Ali 'Alawi (d.1974)
31) Munshi Muhammad Istafa 'Ali's mother
32) Munshi Muhammad Jawad's maternal grandmother
33) Munshi Muhammad Jawad's mother
34) Munshi Muhammad Jawad 'Alawi (d.1943)
35) Deputy Wahaj al Din 'Uthmani's wife (d.1942)
36) Shaikh Sa'id al Din 'Uthmani (d.1914)
37) Mawlana Hamid 'Ali (d.1865)
38) Shah 'Ali Mazhar

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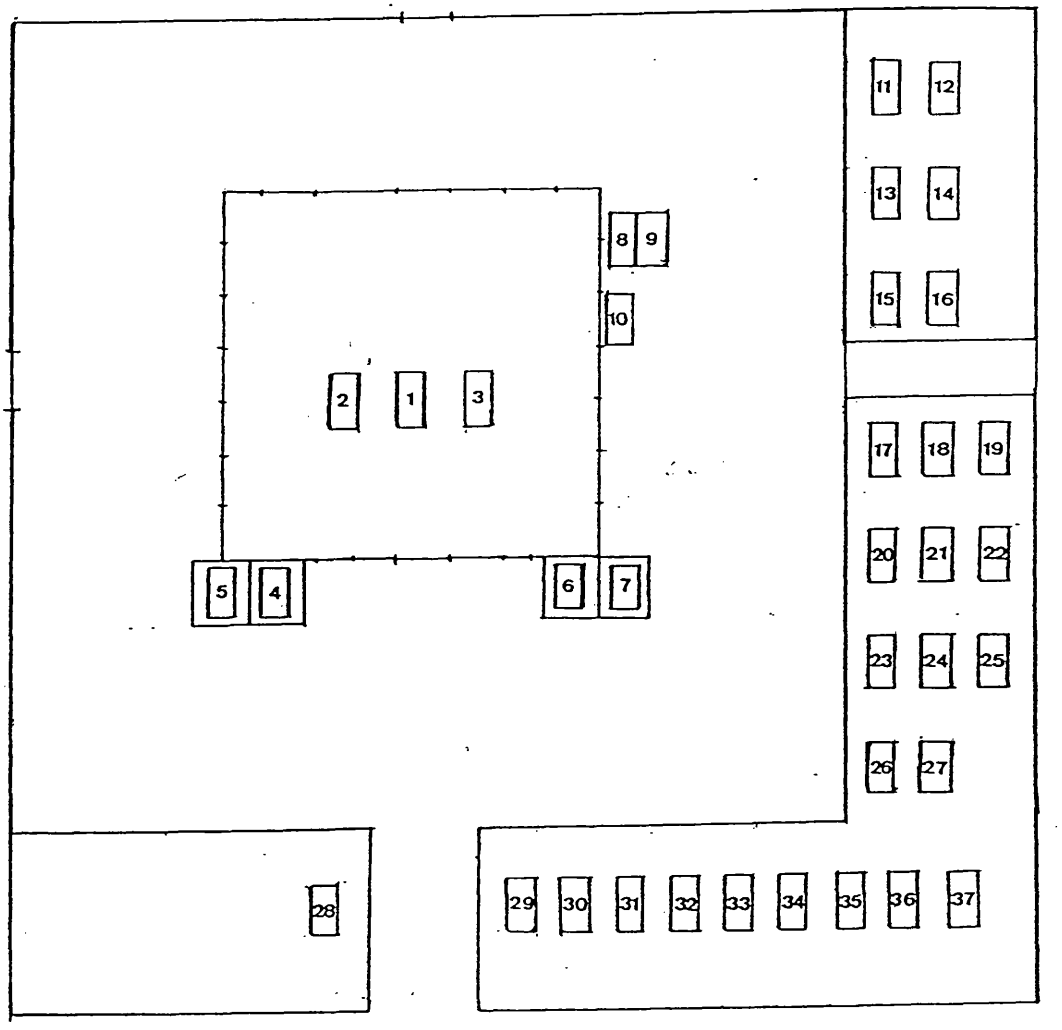
39) Mawlwi Nazim 'Ali
40) Shah Majid 'Ali's first wife
41) Mawlana Hamid 'Ali's wife (d.1910)
42) Daroga Muhammad Salim
43) Mawlwi Rashid al Din 'Alawi
44) Mawlwi Sultan al Din 'Alawi (d.1906)
45) Mawlwi Wasim al Din's wife (d.1916)
46) Mawlwi Wasim al Din 'Alawi (d.1930)
47) Mawlwi 'Abd al 'Aziz 'Alawi
48) Mawlwi Yusuf Hasan's mother (d.1927)
49) Mawlwi Yusuf Hasan 'Alawi (d.1937)
50) Munshi Mi'raj Rasul Khan's sister (d.1921)
51) Saiyid Fazl Husain's wife (d.1911)
52) unknown female
53) Munshi Sadiq Husain 'Alawi's mother (d.1944)
54) unknown female
55) unknown female
56) unknown female
57) Munshi Mi'raj Rasul Khan's daughter
58) male since 1990
59) Mawlwi Nasim al Din 'Alawi (d.1978)
60) Itrat Husain 'Alawi (d.1923)
61) Munshi Muhammad 'Aziz al Din Haidar (d.1977)
62) Shah Shakur 'Ali 'Alawi (d.1969)
63) Shah Shakur 'Ali's wife (d.1950)
64) Nawab 'Ali Siddiqi (d.1975)
65) Nawab 'Abd al Wajid Khan (d.1971)
66) Nawab 'Ali Siddiqi's wife (d.1964)
67) Shaikh Shajat 'Ali Siddiqi Lucknowi
68) unknown female
69) Chawdhri Nusrat 'Ali Khan (d.1901)
70) unknown female
71) Munshi Nur al Din Ahmad 'Alawi (1923/4)
72) Shaikh Altaf Husain 'Alawi
73) Hafiz 'Ata 'Ali (1899/1900)
74) male unknown
75) Haji Amid Allah Amethwi
76) female unknown
77) Shah Bahram 'Ali (d.1840)
78) Shah Nizam 'Ali (d.1862)

Map: Dargah of Shah 'Ali Anwar Qalandar



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Map: Dargah of Shah 'Ali Anwar Qalandar

* 1) Shah 'Ali Anwar Qalandar (d.1906)
2) Shah 'Ali Anwar's wife (d.1926)
* 3) Shah Habib Haidar Qalandar (d.1935)
* 4) Shah Taqi Haidar Qalandar (d.1940)
5) Shah Taqi Haidar's wife (d.1969)
* 6) Shah 'Ali Haidar Qalandar (d.1947)
7) Shah 'Ali Haidar's wife (d.1987)
8) Deputy Wahaj al Din 'Uthmani (d.1913)
9) Munshi Taj al Din 'Uthmani (d.1915)
10) Shah Habib Haidar's wife (d.1965)
11) Muhammad Badr al Hasan Gorakhpuri (d.1951)
12) Ibrahim Beg (d.1969)
13) Nawab 'Abd al Wahid Khan (d.1935)
14) Munshi Amir Ahmad (d.1957)
15) Nawab 'Abd al Karim Khan's daughter (d.1921)
16) Mawlwi 'Abd al 'Aziz's mother
17) Mawlwi Muhammad 'Alam (d.1931)
18) Mawlwi Muhammad 'Asim (d.1921)
19) Dr. Muhammad Taqi Ahmad (d.1986)
20) Mawlwi Murtaza 'Ali 'Alawi Sandili's wife
21) Mawlwi Murtaza 'Ali 'Alawi Sandili (d.1962)
22) Mawlwi Ijtaba 'Ali 'Alawi (d.1978)
23) Munshi Shaida 'Ali 'Abbasi (d.1940)
24) Qazi Intizam 'Ali Khan 'Abbasi (d.1937)
25) Iqtida 'Ali 'Alawi (d.1983)
26) Hakim 'Abd al Rahim Khan Rampuri (d.1916)
27) Mir Barakat 'Ali (d.1942)
28) Mawlwi Shamim al Din 'Alawi (d.1984)
29) Munshi Shakur Ahmad (d.1931)
30) Munshi Mi'raj al Din 'Uthmani (d.1935)
31) Munshi Mi'raj al Din 'Uthmani's wife (d.1937)
32) Mawlwi Ziya al Din Haidar 'Abbasi (d.1943)
33) Mawlwi Muhammad Hasan 'Abbasi (d.1953)
34) Mawlwi Nizam al Din Haidar 'Abbasi (d.1965)
35) Munshi 'Ali Ahmad (d.1978)
36) Shaikh Maslah al Din Ahmad 'Uthmani (d.1989)
37) female since 1990

dargahs or in enclosures within it. Mostly husband was buried next to wife, but also sister next to sister and brother next to brother.[1] Clusters of non-'Alawi family graves existed since many families had become hereditary retainers of the shrine.[2] Murids were mostly buried near their guides although kinship ties could overrule this.[3] Within and around the three dargahs there are at the moment 122 graves of which about 72 belong to members of the 'Alawi family. While all graves within the dargah of Shah Muhammad Kazim belong to the family, 52 of the 78 graves in the dargah of Shah Turab 'Ali belong to family members and only 13 of the 37 graves of Shah 'Ali Anwar's dargah do. The reason for the decline in the number of family graves around the most recent of the three dargahs is to some extent found in the migration of nearly 90 per cent of the Kakori 'Alawis to Pakistan after 1947.[4] There are a handful of followers who had not been buried directly near their guide but still within the confines of Takiya Sharif.[5] For other murids and khalifas the pull to be buried in their ancestral graveyard was, of course, greater than that to be buried within the boundaries of Takiya Sharif.[6] The graveyard of the 'Alawis was right next door to the shrine. The arrangement of the graves within the dargahs was a clear expression of the court of the saint. Anyone who approached his tomb had to pass through his retainers, family or not, who symbolically and geographically controlled the

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[1] See Map: Dargah of Shah Turab 'Ali Qalandar, graves 13 and 14, 15 and 16, 17 and 18; Map: Dargah of Shah 'Ali Anwar Qalandar, graves 8 and 9.

[2] See Map: Dargah of Shah Turab 'Ali Qalandar, graves 35 and 36; Map: Dargah of Shah 'Ali Anwar Qalandar, graves 32, 33 and 34.

[3] See Map: Dargah of Shah 'Ali Anwar Qalandar, grave 9.

[4] Interview with Dr.M.A. Alavi, 31 October 1991.

[5] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, pp. 372, 416, 419, 420.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 408.

access to him. The saint's tomb surrounded by family graves and those of unrelated retainers bears, of course, a striking resemblance to the tombs of the Mughal emperors. There also the principal source of power was placed in a central position while family and important clients were buried around and near it. The theory of power and its influence were once again found in both domains, the spiritual and the worldly.[1]

The occasions on which the court of the saint came truly alive were during the 'urs of the founder of the shrine or of one of his successors. 'Urs is the celebration of the anniversary of a saint's death and the term means literally wedding or marriage festivities. The mystic through his death became united with God, the ultimate goal he had been striving for all his life. In honour of this special event lay followers, disciples and khalifas converged on Takiya Sharif to show their respect to the sajjada nashin and his dead ancestors. The shrine had one big 'urs, that of the founder and his son and successor, lasting for three days. The other 'urs celebrations were arranged in separate groupings throughout the year; for those whose 'urs was not actually celebrated on the death day a fatiha was read on the real day.[2] It was up to the individual sajjada nashin to develop and institutionalise the fatiha and 'urs of his predecessors.[3] For Shah 'Ali Anwar it had been said:

> He put great importance on the 'urs of Shah Muhammad Kazim, the gathering of which was very large. Apart from the 'urs he turned the fatihas of Shah Haidar 'Ali and Shah Taqi 'Ali Qalandar which had been very small gatherings before his sajjada nashini and which sometimes had included a session of sama' and sometimes not, into big affairs and gave

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[1] For an analysis of saintly tombs, courts and other paraphernalia, termed "the hardware of sanctity", in Bangladesh see S. Landell-Mills, "An Anthropological Account of Islamic Holymen in Bangladesh", Ph.D Thesis, University of London, 1992.

[2] Interview with Dr.M.A. Alavi, 5 September 1992.

[3] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 567; 'Alawi, *Habibi*, I, p. 43.

> them an 'urs-type character. And regularly he arranged for sessions of sama' because of which a large crowd began to come on this occasion.[1]

During the main 'urs, the most important event in the shrine's calendar, the tombs of the saints were decorated with chains of lights and new cloth coverings and flowers were put on them. The main functions during the 'urs were the gatherings for sama' during which the sajjada nashin presided over the congregation of his followers. Sama' lasted for defined periods of between one and a half and three hours, one in the morning, one in the afternoon and one in the evening.[2]

During the sessions a strict protocol was followed, again underlining the concept of a court. There was a fixed seating order in which the highest ranking disciples sat closest to the source of power, the sajjada nashin. A position of honour, even closer to the sajjada nashin of Takiya Sharif than that of the disciples, was always given to visiting sajjada nashins of other shrines indicating their spiritual position. Whenever moved by the music people offered money to the presiding sajjada nashin; although sometimes they were not quite sure whether they should not have offered to a more senior visiting sajjada nashin. "This year", stated Mir Muhammad 'Ali Warthi,

> I was present at the 'urs in Kakori. Mawlana Shah Sulaiman Sahib Phulwari[3] was also present. In the gathering [of sama'] people offered money to Shah Habib Haidar [the sajjada nashin] as master of the sama'. And he gave it to the qawwal. Several times I was worried that this was against the adab (respect) as Shah Sulaiman was the older in terms of age and as he also belonged to the Qalandariya order the nazar should be placed before him. When the session was over and Shah Habib Haidar

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[1] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 564.

[2] Letter from Dr.M.A. Alavi, 19 February 1994.

[3] Shah Mawlana Muhammad Sulaiman Phulwari (1857-1935), the leading 'alim of Bihar and a famous sufi, had been a student of Mawlana 'Abd al Bari Farangi Mahali. Heavily involved in the political developments of the early twentieth century he travelled extensively throughout India.

> came out of the marquee he took my hand and he said while walking along with me: "Mir Sahib, in sama' all the people of the assembly are under the master of the assembly."[1]

It was acceptable however for people who felt too humble to approach the sajjada nashin by themselves to give their offering through one of the sajjada nashin's close male relatives. These then passed the offering, sometimes still in the donor's hand, on to the sajjada nashin who threw the money on the ground in front of him. One of the musicians went and collected it immediately. People who made offerings were concerned never to turn their back towards the sajjada nashin.[2]

Those in the audience tried to emulate his behaviour as he sat motionless throughout the whole performance.[3] But if they were moved by the music, its text or its melody, they began to laugh or cry, to shout or to rock forwards and backwards with their bodies. Anything too 'wild' or explicit was not encouraged by the sajjada nashin.

The 'urs celebrations encapsulated the whole meaning of the shrine. It was the time when all its constituent parts came together: when the passing down of spiritual knowledge along the chain of sufi shaikhs from 'Ali to the saints of Takiya Sharif was celebrated in the songs of the qawwals; when the court of the sajjada nashin assembled to honour the spiritual tradition of which he was part; when the achievements of the founding saint were remembered on their own; and when the supporters of his current representative came together to honour the spiritual tradition.

The court of the saint was not only comparable to worldly institutions. It was also

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[1] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, p. 665.

[2] Personal observation during the 'Urs of Shah Muhammad Kazim and Shah Turab 'Ali Qalandar, 30 October-1 November 1991.

[3] Interview with Dr.M.A. Alavi, 30 October 1991; and for example 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 396.

a replica of the court of the Prophet and the courts of the founders of the sufi orders. These people were thought to preside over heavenly gatherings of the core people of Islam. Muhammad was a great source of power and as such his presence was very much sought. The saint could not only appear as one of the founders of the sufi orders[1] but was also considered to be the last appearance of the Prophet[2] and therefore it was easy for the follower to see the one in the other. The saint appeared also in gatherings before Muhammad or the founders of the sufi orders[3], many murids saw their guide in the company of 'Ali, Hasan or Husain there.[4] The Prophet was the ultimate mediator with God in heaven while the people saw their saint as the ultimate mediator for things on earth. The Prophet and the founders of the Sufi orders held court in heaven and the saint held court in his khanqah on earth. All were dispensing patronage for those in less powerful positions.

The world -and here also the heaven- view of many people was shaped by

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[1] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 510.

[2] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, I, p. 163.

[3] An example for such a court of a founder of a sufi order comes from the traditions of Farangi Mahal. The family had traditionally belonged to the Chishtiya but

> after Mulla Nizam al-Din finished his schooling, and his nephew Ahmad 'Abd al-Haqq, ..., also finished his schooling, both men were in search of a Šaih. In the same night both had a vision that they were at the court of Šah 'Abd al-Qadir Ğilani, and Mu'in ad-Din Čišti was also there. They stood in a respectful manner. Hadrat Ğilani said to Hwağa Mu'in ad-Din. 'Give them to me', and Hwağa Mu'in ad-Din led them before Ğilani. Thereupon 'Abd al-Qadir Ğilani handed them to someone behind him. They saw his face ...

and some time later found him to be the shaikh belonging to the Qadariya order they had looked for.
'Abd al Bari, Mawlana Mawlwi Muhammad Qiyam al Din, *Malfuz-i Razzaqi*, Kanpur, 1926, pp. 16-7, quoted in Robinson, "Scholarship and mysticism", p. 386.

[4] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, pp. 366, 511.

hierarchical structures. In everyday life those who were powerless sought a patron to whom they bound their fate on the understanding that he would look after them and their needs while they gave him their loyalty, gratitude or, when required, their labour. Both patronship and clientship were hereditary and as long as both parties fulfilled their expected obligations the relationship between them continued. This patron-client concept was also applied to the spiritual world. The saint fitted into the patron slot and was treated as such by all those who sought his protection and mediation. Sometimes a person had to chose which of the courts of power he should attend. Then it was natural to be present in the one which was held in higher esteem and which had the greater influence. Nawab 'Abd al Karim Khan had no doubt which one he would go to.

> Once during the 'urs [of Shah Muhammad Kazim] on the 21st [Rabi' al Thani] the Governor of UP had organised a durbar in Lucknow. According to tradition Nawab 'Abd al Rahim Khan had also been invited to it as he was one of the taluqdars But he did not go to the durbar. He made his excuses. Shah Habib Haidar said to him: "What harm is there in going to the durbar? You will be absent from one mahfil (gathering with music) in the morning and in the afternoon for the mahfil of qul of the fatiha you will be present again." The Nawab replied: "The mahfil in the morning is the mahfil of the durbar of Huzur. The durbar of Shah Habib Haidar has preference over the durbar of the Governor." And he did not go.[1]

Succession and sajjada nashini

Points of crisis occurred regularly in a khanqah in form of the death of the current leader. To ensure a high level of continuation a smooth take-over by the designated heir was imperative. Theoretically, the sajjada nashin could nominate anyone who had the

[1] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, p. 848.

spiritual qualifications to be his successor. Practically, the succession had become hereditary within the family or clan.[1] And although there were khalifas, or deputies, outside the family circle who had the necessary qualifications, these were either encouraged to establish their own khanqah somewhere else and thus spread the order, or their adab meant that they never questioned the decision of their pir and his family. In those cases where a succession was disputed vested economic interests were at stake. It usually involved a shrine with large landholding[2] or one with a large number of pilgrims and thus a high in-take of offerings[3].

At Takiya Sharif, Kakori, the sajjada nashinship had always been kept in the family. Shah 'Ali Haidar Qalandar was an observer when his eldest brother, Shah Habib Haidar, took over from their father:

> Father [Shah 'Ali Anwar Qalandar] died on Friday, 20th Muharram 1324 H [16 March 1906] after the 'Asr prayer and was buried on the 21st Muharram. Two days later, on the 23rd Muharram, the fatiha of the third day after death was read in the mosque of Takiya Sharif Kazimiya and the function of Shah Habib Haidar's khirqa poshi took place. Because of the extremity of his grief Habib Haidar was at that time in such a state that everyone could only cry. After reading the fatiha the leader of the fakirs of the Azadiya placed the khirqa in front of Habib Haidar, according to family tradition, and Habib Haidar's grief increased. He tried very hard to control his emotions and after he had reached a normal condition again he said showing the modesty of his nature: "I am not fit to wear this khirqa. Someone with enough greatness should wear it."
>
> At that time the elders of the family and many of the special and close murids of his father and his grandfather were present and everyone knew about his condition, his capabilities and his intelligence. And everyone present knew the contents of his father's will, that Habib Haidar was his successor and khalifa and that this was not only because of his father but because he had been made perfect and more perfect. All present

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[1] J.S. Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, Oxford University Press, London, 1971, p. 173.

[2] See Chapter 3.

[3] See Currie, *Cult of Mu'in al-din Chishti*, chapters 7 and 8.

> said in one voice: "This someone is you." And, really, there was no one more suited to wear the khirqa. At last while crying violently he put on the khirqa.
>
> ...
>
> After Habib Haidar had put on the regal clothes the onlookers saw him bathed in the light of 'Ali Anwar. Those present placed with love and respect the nazar of the khirqa poshi before him. At that moment all those present cried with grief that he had to face the burden of the sajjada nashinship at this young age. [He was 24 years old.]
>
> After the function of khirqa poshi all present went over to the dargahs for the reading of the fatiha khwani. At that time the leader of the Azadiya went in front of the procession announcing all the traditional titles of Shah Habib Haidar. When he was present at the grave of his father the crowd seeing his patience with his passion began to mourn. After visiting the graves Shah Habib Haidar Qalandar sat on the sajjada of the khanqah. And the murids of the order and others offered a hundred times with respect their nazar for the sajjada nashini.[1]

Although the sajjada nashini was kept in the family it did not always pass from father to son. The age of and, connected to that, the level of training which the chosen successor had received up to the date of succession played a role too. While most of the sajjada nashins were middle aged when they succeeded, two of them, Shah Habib Haidar and Shah Mustafa Haidar, were in their mid-twenties when they took over.[2] It was more difficult for somebody so young to put on the cloak of authority, especially in a society in which respect for one's elders was ingrained in everyone. Shah Habib Haidar had had no male issue and on his death his middle brother Taqi Haidar became sajjada nashin. When Taqi Haidar died it was generally found that his son, Mustafa Haidar, was still too young to carry the burden of the sajjada nashini and that first 'Ali Haidar, the third brother, should take over.[3] As he had no children Shah Mustafa Haidar became sajjada nashin on his demise. Aged 23 he was stillconsidered to be very young, he had not even

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[1] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, I, pp. 43-4, 45-6.

[2] See Table: Age of Sajjada Nashins on Taking Office.

[3] 'Alawi, *Gulshan-i Karam*, pp. 289-90.

been married yet.[1] There was nobody else left but him to take over the family trade.

Table: Age of Sajjada Nashins on Taking Office

Shah Turab 'Ali:	38-39
Shah Haidar 'Ali:	67
Shah 'Ali Akbar:	35
Shah 'Ali Anwar:	43
Shah Habib Haidar:	24
Shah Taqi Haidar:	45
Shah 'Ali Haidar:	47
Shah Mustafa Haidar:	23

After a change in leadership the trust of the followers in the new management had to be gained and maintained. This was particularly crucial in the early phase of the khanqah when it was necessary to establish the charisma of the founding saint and to ensure that it did not die with him. It was important to reassure murids that their needs would still be catered for. Brothers of the departed sajjada or khalifas were there to oversee the transferal of power. When Shah Habib Haidar took office it fell to Munshi Wahaj al Din to quieten the anxiety of the followers and students. He

> gave a lecture on the life of the friends of God. ... In his speech Munshi Wahaj al Din said that one should not think that [Habib Haidar's] father was dead. "He is alive and he will always be alive. If one wants to see him

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 326, 329.

> in this shapeless [non-material] form then he can be seen everywhere. If one wants to see his external form then one should pay attention to (concentrate on) his spirituality. And if one wants to see him awake (alive) then one has to look at his successor who is like him."
>
> All the people were satisfied with his speech and after a few days all said that the spiritual qualities were present in him [Habib Haidar] and they began to take help from him and he solved all their problems and difficulties ...[1]

There were other ways of reassuring murids and khalifas too. In many instances the sajjada nashin would feel his end coming and handed over his followers to his successor. Either literally by taken their hands and placing them in the hands of his successor[2] or by indicating to them that his son or brother was now responsible for them[3]. Dreams and visions played a role too.

> After the death of Shah Habib Haidar, I [Miss Sonabai Irani] was in great sorrow and I cried very often. One night when I was crying myself to sleep I dreamt that Habib Haidar was standing on the upper storey of Takiya Sharif. I became very happy because he was alive. I said: "I was worried that I would not find you here. Now to whom do I go at Takiya?" At once his face changed into that of Shah 'Ali Haidar and then it changed back into that of Habib Haidar. This happened a few times, then he himself said: "He and I are one. If I am not here then go to him."[4]

The underlying refrain of all these occurrences was that the last sajjada nashin was like the following one and the future sajjada nashin would be like the one before. They were all interchangeable. In the present sajjada one could see his father and his grandfather and his great-grandfather but also his son and his grandson. Continuation was what was desired by both the followers and the leaders.

Those designated to become sajjada nashin stood often out from others even in

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[1] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, I, p. 48.

[2] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 509.

[3] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, p. 675.

[4] *Ibid.*, II, pp. 775-6; similar dreams *ibid.*, II, pp. 734-5, 745, 794-800.

their childhood. Sometimes their birth was announced by dreams. Habib Haidar's arrival was indicated to his maternal grandmother in a dream when she was worried about the lack of male off-spring.[1] Other family members saw similar dreams.[2] Once born the sajjada nashin was often described as "from childhood the light of a wali was shining on his face."[3] They could also possess special skills and powers while young.[4] Quite often from infancy the future sajjada nashin was with the current office holder, he sat in his lap or was lying near to him.[5] When Mawlwi Shaida 'Ali 'Abbasi came to Shah 'Ali Anwar's house at lunchtime he found Habib Haidar, who was only a few months old, lying near his father.

> I thought this had been done because he was so young and because of great paternal love and affection. But later on I was told by Munshi Wahaj al Din that in this way he [Habib Haidar] had already started his spiritual training in the period of infancy.[6]

Little sajjada nashins-to-be behaved differently from other children. They cried less, they were toilet-trained almost from day one, and their play was less noisy, less wild and less naughty.[7] And when they played it were games like cricket that attracted them while they

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[1] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, I, p. 9.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, p. 10.

[3] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, pp. 332, 362.

[4] 'Alawi, *Usul*, pp. 210-1; 'Alawi, *Azkar*, pp. 334-5, 362-3. For example: in his youth, Muhammad Kazim, had a very powerful voice. When he sang he could charm snakes, lift his own body from the ground and make it rain. His two younger sons, Himayat 'Ali and Hakim Basit had in their childhood the power of foresight and they predicted future events for people.

[5] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 491.

[6] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, I, p. 17.

[7] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 15-7.

stayed away from "cards or dice which were morally harmful".[1] The importance of their future office was impressed upon them very early in life. They had to be an example to others even at a young age. Great care was taken by the parents and grandparents to imbibe them with the necessary understanding for self-denial and the suppression of their own self-will.[2] They were children who grew up fast.

Although a sajjada nashin was born to office he needed to receive a distinct education before his own investiture. At the age of four years and four months the 'heir apparent' was taken to the tomb of Shah Himayat 'Ali Qalandar, the second son of Muhammad Kazim, and the fatiha was read at the grave.[3] This event marked the beginning of his time of instruction. There were many fields in which a sajjada nashin needed to be accomplished. First the Quran was read from beginning to end, although it was not compulsory for the student to become a hafiz.[4] Then the languages Urdu, Persian and Arabic had to be mastered. Fluency in reading, comprehending and translating from the one into the other was expected.[5] After this the whole curriculum of adab, fiqh, mantiq, kalam, hadith and tafsir followed.[6] When most of this had been studied it was time to

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[1] *Ibid.*, I, p. 25.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 18-20, 28.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, p. 20; interview with Dr.M.A. Alavi, 26 April 1992.
Himayat 'Ali Qalandar founded the tradition of learning and teaching in Takiya Sharif. He travelled to local centres of learning to sit at the feet of great teachers and his book collection was the foundation of the library in the khanqah. 'Alawi, *Usul*, pp. 472-9; 'Alawi, *Azkar*, pp. 362-6.

[4] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, I, p. 20; 'Alawi, *Azkar*, pp. 333, 492.

[5] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, I, p. 30.

[6] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, pp. 421, 468, 493.

move on to tasawwuf, the science of sufism.[1] Texts of former sufis were read and explained. Between the ages of 18 and 21 the future sajjada nashin had completed the whole curriculum. Side by side he had also completed his spiritual education.[2] Early on in his childhood he would have begun to learn the prayers, repetitions of formulas and meditation practices which he needed to command.[3] In all of this his father was his most important teacher and, when available, also his grandfather or his uncle. The sajjada nashin-to-be was only educated in the khanqah and alongside with other boys of the family he began to live there at a young age.[4] For certain subjects specialists from outside were employed to teach him, a muhaddith to teach him hadith for example, or a hafiz to make him memorize the Quran.[5] In the early days of the khanqah many more people were contracted in for educating the sajjada, later on much more was taught by male relatives.[6] Murids or khalifas who were experienced in certain areas also helped with his instruction.[7] The future sajjada nashin did not attend a school outside the khanqah world. Almost from birth he was part of the institution he was to preside over later, and although everybody knew about his future position he had to undergo a strict training to make him fit to guide all those around him.

As soon as the future sajjada nashins had completed their studies they took over

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[1] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, I, p. 30; 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 384.

[2] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, I, p. 40.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 32-40; 'Alawi, *Azkar*, pp. 384-5, 467, 492.

[4] Interview with Dr.M.A. Alavi, 26 April 1992.

[5] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, I, p. 22; 'Alawi, *Azkar*, pp. 333, 386, 492.

[6] See Appendix I.ii.

[7] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, pp. 374, 386.

some of the jobs around the khanqah. They began by helping their class-fellows in their studies,[1] and went on to teach classes themselves. Shah 'Ali Anwar began his teaching career in front of his great uncle Shah Taqi 'Ali.

> In the beginning he taught 35 or 40 lessons daily, and to these came not only the students from Kakori but also from outside it. In the last period the number of students became less and he taught only 10 to 12 lessons.[2]

When his son, Habib Haidar, was ready Shah 'Ali Anwar "having observed his interest in teaching ... allocated many lessons to him."[3] There were other things to be done too. Signing shijras, writing ta'wiz and writing letters on behalf of the sajjada nashin.[4] Very often the novice sajjada nashin was involved in all the activities necessary for running the khanqah. He thereby not only helped the present leader, but also learned about the mechanics of the institution and had some hands-on experience when his time came. This could also make him very indispensable, especially if the sajjada nashin had no brother to help him. Babu Awadh Bihari Lal, disciple of Shah 'Ali Anwar, requested his pir to let Habib Haidar attend the wedding of his son. Shah Habib Haidar's father replied:

> Babuji, if you take myself, I am ready [to go]. But don't take him. If you take him it will be like cutting off my hand and it will be very painful for me. He does all the work here.[5]

Helping to run the khanqah meant also doing some work outside of it. Increasingly it became the role of the sajjada-to-be to liaise with the 'outside world' and to deal with the government offices and functionaries with which a person came in touch in a modern

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[1] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, I, p. 30.

[2] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 494.

[3] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, I, pp. 30-1.

[4] *Ibid.*, I, p. 30.

[5] *Ibid.*, I, p. 31.

state.[1] The longer the apprenticeship was of the young man the more prepared and rounded he was when the burden of office came to rest on his shoulders.

Most of the Qalandar saints of Takiya Sharif followed the tradition of doing scholarly research and writing books.[2] Shah Haidar 'Ali Qalandar excepted everyone of them produced at least two books and in most cases many, many more. A large number of the books dealt with various aspects of sufism. Some were collection of lives of saints belonging to the various sufi orders. Others were explanations of texts written by other sufis, or translations of their work. Another section were the letters which the saints had sent to their disciples. For a long time this had been the commonest method of instruction for those followers who lived far away. These letters were collected, selected, translated and turned into books which were seen as beneficial for a wider audience. The majority of books written up to the time of Shah 'Ali Anwar's sajjada nashinship (the late nineteenth century) were written in Persian. For centuries Persian had been the cultural language of upper India. It had been the language of the royal courts and until 1837 had been the official language used by the British. From the late nineteenth century more and more of the books of Takiya Sharif were written in Urdu. Those texts in Persian and Arabic deemed suitable were translated into Urdu.

> In the present time there are few people who know and can understand Arabic and Persian. Therefore Shah Habib Haidar had arranged that the writings of his father which were according to the old tradition [mainly] in Persian should be published with an Urdu translation.[3]

Beginning with his two younger brothers, Taqi Haidar and 'Ali Haidar, the family

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[1] For example 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, p. 726; and discussions with the designated next sajjada nashin 'Ain al Haidar 'Alawi in summer 1992.

[2] See Appendix I.iii.

[3] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, pp. 790-1.

members began to translate the old texts into Urdu so that they remained accessible to the public. Some of the sajjada nashins had also been poets, poetry being part of the cultural tradition of the ashraf class. Both Shah Muhammad Kazim and Shah Turab 'Ali wrote poetry in Hindi. Indeed, the most famous work of Muhammad Kazim was his collection of Hindi poetry. Turab 'Ali was also known for his work in Urdu and Persian. All this book-writing went on alongside the other responsibilities of the sajjada nashin, although it was sometimes felt that the duties of the sajjadgi allowed no free time.

In their daily life every sajjada nashin adhered to a strict routine. Time was divided into three parts: one part was for the worship of God, the second for teaching students and writing books, and the third was taken up by counselling the people and by managing the khanqah.[1] The time at the hands of the sajjada depended on whether he could share his work load with an uncle, brother or son. There were some conventions to which each sajjada nashin adhered to. They had to spend every night in the khanqah, and particularly in the rooms in the upper storey as Shah Muhammad Kazim had done.[2] The only exceptions allowed to this rule were either when the sajjada was on hajj or when he was ill and in hospital. This meant that the sajjada nashin did not travel around much. Further, the sajjada was not supposed to give fatwas, or to act as a witness or judge in court.[3] He played also no part in politics.[4] Apart from the routine events taking place every day like reading the fatiha at the tombs of his ancestors,[5] sitting on the sajjada, helping the public

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[1] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 425.

[2] 'Alawi, *Azarat*, pp. 4-5; 'Alawi, *Habibi*, I, p. 303; 'Alawi, *Azkar*, pp. 424, 471.

[3] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 497.

[4] Interview with Dr.M.A. Alavi, 26 April 1992.

[5] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, pp. 424, 471.

and giving ta'wiz,[1] teaching books on sufism after the lunchtime prayer[2] and presiding over the lunchtime and evening meal[3] other activities were left to the dynamism of each incumbent. According to personal taste sama' might have taken place at various times of the day.[4] Writing books and letters had to be fitted in. Generally the sajjada nashin was there for his followers and for the public at all times of the day. As Shah 'Ali Anwar put it to the people around him: "The Ganges is flowing along, whosoever wants to take from it he can."[5]

The Funding of the Shrine

The sufi khanqah was an important institution in the community. It provided not only spiritual training for those with mystic leanings but also solace and advice for all types of supplicants and it was a place of learning and knowledge. Such an institution needed money to perform all these services. There were two different ways in which a khanqah could be funded. One was to rely predominantly on land grants from wealthy patrons, often the rulers of the day. This allowed for a relatively guaranteed income independent of the actual number of visitors to the khanqah during a particular time. The other way of obtaining funds was to rely predominantly on offerings from the people. This

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[1] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, I, p. 305; 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 471.

[2] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, I, p. 306; 'Alawi, *Azkar*, pp. 424, 471.

[3] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, I, pp. 305, 307.

[4] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 278-90, 305, 307.

[5] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 565.

made a khanqah directly dependent on the number of visitors it attracted. The more 'successful' a khanqah was, be it through the karamat performed, the advice given, the books written or the piety and learning of its inhabitants, the more financial and material support it could expect. But the level of its income was not guaranteed and periods of scarcity were to be endured. Of course, these two ways of obtaining funds were not necessarily mutually exclusive.

In early medieval India some sufis, Chishtis for instance, had deemed unacceptable as gifts any type of guaranteed income or immovable property. Equally all unasked for charity given to them, futuh, had to be used or distributed at the end of the day.[1] They also refused to have any dealings with the rulers of the day.[2] Other sufis, the Suhrawardis for example, did not have this strict concept of futuh. They accepted all kinds of offerings and mixed freely with worldly rulers. In contrast to many Chishti shaikhs they were based in areas far away from the central authority and needed to be materially self-sufficient.[3] Over time with the movement of the sufi orders away from the centre of power the divisions between the different orders concerning their attitude to wealth and dependence on worldly powers for income became less clear cut. Even the Chishti khanqahs relied to

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[1] I.A. Zilli, "Precepts and Paradox: The Chishti Attitude towards Social Labour", *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 1986, pp. 281-9; K.A. Nizami, *The Life and Time of Shaikh Nizamuddin Aulia*, Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli, Delhi, 1991, pp. 63-4.

[2] Nizami, *Nizamuddin Aulia*, chapter 10; M. Salim, "The Attitude of the Chishti Saints Towards Political Power", *Proceedings of the Pakistan Historical Conference*, 2 (1952), pp. 225-9.

[3] K.A. Nizami, "The Suhrawardi Silsilah and its Influence on Medieval Indian Politics", *Medieval Indian Quarterly*, 3 (1957), pp. 109-49; Digby, "The Sufi Shaikh as a Source of Authority", pp. 64-5.

varying extends on land grants.[1] But the sufi ideal of poverty and the reliance on God and nobody else for support surfaced again and again over time.[2]

For Shah Muhammad Kazim, the founder of Takiya Sharif, it had been important not to depend on the gifts of government officials or the ruler itself. Only reluctantly did he accept Maharaja Tikait Rai's offer to build a khanqah for him.[3] When this khanqah failed to progress past its infant stages and the other promised buildings, a mosque, a house to live in etc., did not materialise he refused to ask the Maharaja for their construction.[4] Dependence on the state was according to him not the aim of a sufi, it was only dependence on God which mattered.

> After the death of Shah Muhammad Kazim there was a great scarcity at Takiya Sharif. For days there was nothing to eat. Khwaja Hasan Chishti[5] who was a member of the Durbar of the King of Awadh said once sympathetically and with love to Shah Turab 'Ali: "In my opinion one request in this matter should be sent to the King of Awadh stating that 'Here is only tawakkul, there is no fixed income and there is no property. Therefore if in your kingly sympathy some amount could be fixed from the royal treasury, then I would thank you and pray for you.'" Shah Turab 'Ali was very well mannered and respected him, consequently he did not say more than this in his reply: "In the request my name should not be used but that of somebody else." Khwaja Hasan Chishti liked the reply and said in the direction of Shah Haidar 'Ali: "The request will come from him." Turab 'Ali said: "You tell him [about it]." Khwaja Hasan Chishti told Haidar 'Ali about his intention. Haidar 'Ali said after some silence: "Khwaja Sahib, if the King will ask me this question: 'Do you have tawakkul on me or on God?' then what will I answer him?" Khwaja Hasan Chishti replied: "Truly, there is no answer to this. We should have

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[1] See Chapter 3; and also R. Bilgrami, "The Ajmer Wakf under the Mughals", *Islamic Culture*, 52 (1978), pp. 97-103; Currie, *Cult of Mu'in al-din Chishti*, chapter 9.

[2] See Chapter 4.

[3] 'Alawi, *Usul*, p. 292; 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 338; 'Alawi, *Azarat*, p. vi.

[4] 'Alawi, *Usul*, pp. 328-9.

[5] See this chapter, 'Religious Affiliation'.

tawakkul on God in this way." Then he remained silent.[1]

This dependence on the state had always been the divide between different proponents of sufism. The development over time of the various sufi centres indicated that the fate of those relying mainly on the patronage of one ruler or ruling dynasty was closely linked with that ruling house and that the demise of the one meant automatically the decline of the other.[2] Those khanqahs which stayed close to the people through their dependence on them retained a power base independent of political changes.

Takiya Sharif was a khanqah which depended more on the efforts of its followers than on large landholding. Those lands which they held, though, had been given by followers and close friends. One village in pargana Mohan was exempted from revenue assessments and given to Shah Muhammad Kazim by Maharaja Tikait Rai.[3] It had been made out for the expense incurred in looking after visitors to the shrine and for the maintenance of the saint's family.[4] It helped the family to cope in the difficult first period of Shah Muhammad Kazim's sainthood and allowed for a degree of financial security.[5] It had never been enough though to cover all the shrine's expenses.[6] In fact, it had involved the khanqah in the power-plays between the different factions of the court of

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[1] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 426.

[2] Nizami, "The Suhrawardi Silsilah", pp. 109-49.

[3] 'Alawi, *Usul*, p. 291.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 328.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 291.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 328.

Nawab Asaf al Dawla.[1]. It was also intensely disliked by Muhammad Kazim.[2] He accepted the exempted village only because it had been given to him without him asking for it and refusing it would have been tantamount to disobeying God's will.[3] It was repossessed by the government when the Maharaja's term of office as Naib-Wazir came to an end.[4] Other properties stayed with the sajjada nashin for longer. There was a grove of mangoes given by Mawlwi Shah Naqi Yawar Khan, a khalifa of Shah Turab 'Ali, in the 1820s. There were also the possessions of Shah 'Ali Haidar Qalandar which were put in waqf for the khanqah when he died issueless in 1947.[5] There was further a family jagir granted by 'Alamgir to Shaikh 'Abd al Rahman 'Alawi, consisting largely of mango groves, which was rented out. The income of this was used for the shrine too.[6] The shrine itself was situated in this jagir. The money derived from the different endowments helped to finance the khanqah. They were never the predominant source of income though.

Takiya Sharif depended much more on offerings made by people. These could be in cash and in kind. Nazar in the form of money was given to the sajjada nashin and

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[1] After Maharaja Tikait Rai had been Naib-Wazir for some time the office was contested by the favourite of Nawab Asaf al Dawla, Raja Jhaw Lal. Muhammad Kazim was drawn into this power struggle as Jhaw Lal thought him to be the reason that he could not harm the Maharaja and tried to dishonour Shah Muhammad Kazim in every possible way. The brother of Raja Jhaw Lal, Jasunat Rai, tried to attach the exempted village to himself. 'Alawi, *Usul*, pp. 434-5; and Barnett, *North India Between Empires*, p. 232.

[2] 'Alawi, *Usul*, p. 291.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 291.

[4] 'Alawi, *Azarat*, p. vii.

[5] Interviews with Dr.M.A. Alavi, 26 April and 5 September 1992.

[6] Annual rental at present: maximum of Rs.30,000. Interview with Dr.M.A. Alavi, 26 April 1992.

sometimes also to other important male members of the family.[1] It was also given to the tombs of the dead saints.[2] Nazar would be given on several occasions, for example, when people came to seek advice and paid their respects.[3] As the followers of Takiya Sharif came to be more spread out over India, eventually over many continents, and their work did not permit them regular attendance at the shrine, some decided to send their nazar monthly from their work place.[4] On the whole though in the second half of this century the khanqah did not benefit much from people who had gone to live and work abroad.

Offerings in kind consisted of a wide range of goods. The commonest things presented were sweets and cloths. The pieces of cloths, often heavily embroidered, were then turned into chadars for the graves. If the cloth had been brought back from the Ka'ba a particular quality was then attached to it. The more it became possible for people to go on hajj due to improved means of transport the more chadars originating from Mecca were put on the tombs in Takiya Sharif.[5] Other objects could also be found among the gifts termed nazar: floor coverings, carpets and prayer mats,[6] tents for the sama' of the 'urs,[7] chandeliers,[8] gowns and dresses[9] but also generators, engines and dynamo[10] and a car from

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[1] 'Alawi, *Usul*, p. 441; 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 406.

[2] 'Alawi, *Usul*, p. 441.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 440-5; 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 407.

[4] Interview with Dr.M.A. Alavi, 5 September 1992.

[5] 'Alawi, *Azarat*, pp. 16, 25, 30, 39; 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, p. 746 fn. 1.

[6] 'Alawi, *Azarat*, pp. 13, 16, 25, 28, 30.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 8, 12; 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 479.

[8] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, p. 683.

[9] 'Alawi, *Azarat*, p. 40; 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 425.

Ford[1]. These things were bought by murids and given to their pir with specific purposes in mind. Some of the objects were replacements, in the case of the floor coverings and tents, when the originals had been worn out, others were designed to make life for the sajjada nashin and the khanqah easier like the generators or the car.

The sajjada nashin did not only take but he also gave. In the beginning of Takiya Sharif resources were scarce in the khanqah and often money had to be borrowed as donations from Maharaja Tikait Rai or other officials fell short of the required sums.[2] But over time when a solid group of murids had been acquired and the shrine had been established the redistribution of gifts began.

> When someone gave something to him [Shah 'Ali Anwar, the sajjada nashin] then he praised that object very much according to the best manners. And the next time he would also give something to that person so that he might become happy.[3]

Whenever a murid came to the sajjada nashin to take leave he was normally given some tabarruk, a blessed gift, to take home with him. While this would usually be sweets or fruit or cloths, some of the chadars which had been on the graves were given away again,[4] it could also be a token sum of money[5] or practically anything else.

> Once I met three people who were going to see Shah Turab 'Ali. I said to them: "At the time of taking leave Shah Turab 'Ali always gives some tabarruk." One of them said: "I need a prayer carpet." The second one said: "I want some bread fruit." And the third said something else. When they

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[10] 'Alawi, *Azarat*, pp. 30, 40.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 33.

[2] 'Alawi, *Usul*, p. 328.

[3] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 516.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 525; 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, p. 740.

[5] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 619.

took leave then Shah Turab 'Ali gave them those things with a smile.[1]

Shah 'Ali Anwar's generosity also raised eyebrows.

> Apart from the things which came to him as nazar and gifts, he purchased other goods and distributed them. This system of distribution continued on a grand scale until his death. Often other people and those who objected to him thought that he was rich. They said repeatedly: "He is not a fakir. He is a rich man."[2]

This distribution conformed to one of the sufi ideals of not hording goods in the shrine. Nothing in the khanqah was kept from one year to the next.[3] Whatever was not needed for the shrine was given away to the people.

Apart from giving offerings and alienating land to the khanqah there were other ways too in which the followers helped with its many undertakings. One thing very popular in Takiya Sharif was to pay for the construction of buildings within the khanqah complex or for their repair or replacement. Instead of simply offering money to the sajjada nashin the follower was honoured to show "his respect and love and closeness"[4] in this way. Of the 140 instances listed in the official history of the buildings of the shrine (*Azarat-i Takiya Sharif*) of constructing or repairing the buildings within the khanqah, 76 undertaken by murids or khalifas. Of these 16 cases were funded by family members. And

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 402.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 516.

[3] Interview with Dr.M.A. Alavi, 5 September 1992.

[4] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, p. 847.

Table: Buildings[1] of Takiya Sharif

Sajjada Nashin	length of office	total number of buildings	number of buildings paid for by followers	number of buildings paid for by sajjada nashin	percentage of buildings paid for by followers	number of buildings paid for by women	number of buildings paid for by family
Shah Muhammad Kazim	c. 32 years	5	4	1	80%	0	3
Shah Turab 'Ali	52 years	12	6	6	50%	0	1
Shah Haidar 'Ali	10 years	6	6	0	100%	0	3
Shah 'Ali Akbar	28 years	6	3	3	50%	0	2
Shah 'Ali Anwar	10 years	9	2	7	22%	0	1
Shah Habib Haidar	29 years	29	27	2	93%	1	3
Shah Taqi Haidar	5 years	13	9	4	69%	2	1
Shah 'Ali Haidar	7 years	4	3	1	75%	0	0
Shah Mustafa Haidar	(to 1990) 43 years	56	16	40	29%	6	2

Source: *Azarat-i Takiya Sharif*, Shah Mujtaba Haidar 'Alawi, Lucknow, 1990.

[1] The figures used in the table refer to building work as well as to repair work undertaken.

nine were funded by women. The proportion of building work paid for by followers varied from one sajjada nashin to the next. While during Shah Haidar 'Ali's term of office (10 years) all building activities were sponsored by murids during Shah 'Ali Anwar's sajjada nashinship (10 years) only about 22 per cent were funded by followers and only 29 per cent during the first 43 years of Shah Mustafa Haidar's leadership.[1]

The tradition of things being built for the sajjada nashin began with a hut constructed by Shah Muhammad Kazim's uncle and was continued by Maharaja Tikait Rai.[2] From then on whenever the increasing flow of supplicants and followers made it necessary, rooms, verandas, and houses were added to the original khanqah structure. All of the tombs of the sajjadas and the domes over them, the marble floors around them were paid for by followers.[3] Building the last resting place for the pir was the greatest honour which could be bestowed on a follower. The lavish construction of the dargah of Shah 'Ali Anwar Qalandar was an example for that. Some disciples had, of course, more means than others to undertake building works. The most productive builder was Nawab 'Abd al Karim Khan Shahabadi, a taluqdar. During the lifetimes of Habib Haidar and Taqi Haidar he undertook 14 buildings and repairs in the khanqah.[4] Many others paid for two to four constructions while families, the 'Abbasis for example, contributed over

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[1] See Table: Buildings of Takiya Sharif.

[2] See this chapter, 'Founding Story of the Spiritual Tradition'.

[3] 'Alawi, *Azarat*, pp. 5-6, 9-10, 11, 13, 17-8, 26, 29, 31; 'Alawi, *Azkar*, pp. 354-5, 398, 482, 573; Alawi, *Habibi*, II, p. 840; for a detailed account see 'Alawi, *Tafsil.*

[4] 'Alawi, *Azarat*, pp. 17-21, 23-4, 26-7; 'Alawi, *Habibi*, I, p. 300, II, p. 847. This building activity was also acknowledged by 'outsiders'. N.H. Siddiqui found that the Nawab "is sincerely devoted to his spiritual leader at Kakori, and has built a beautiful tomb in his memory." *Landlords of Agra and Avadh*, Pioneer Press, Lucknow, n.d., p. 246.

generations to the building works in the shrine.[1] Others like Bibi 'Arifa Khanum specialised in more or less one type of construction, her concern being the installation of new toilets with "flush system".[2] In paying for the erection of new buildings in the shrine complex the murids could not only show the love for their pir but they could also materially improve the appearance of the khanqah.

A similar contribution made by some murids was to pay for the publication of books. Since the introduction of the printing press to India and its widespread usage by people in order to disseminate tracts with religious content[3] many of the manuscripts of the sajjada nashins of the khanqah had been put in print.[4] This exercise was not a cheap one and individual followers covered the costs for various books.[5] As late as the early 1940s murids suggested a whip-round to organise the funds for the publication of a newly written life of a saint.[6] Around the turn of the twentieth century the publishing efforts of the khanqah had been helped when one of their murids became manager of the printing press in Rampur state.[7] Printing the books written by their pirs the followers helped to spread the name of the khanqah. In the same way as they helped to put the shrine geographically on the map through paying for the construction and repairs of some of its

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[1] 'Alawi, *Azarat*, pp. 9-11, 23-4, 27-8, 30, 33.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 34-5.

[3] See F.Robinson, "Technology and Religious Change: Islam and the Impact of Print", *Modern Asian Studies*, 27 (1993), pp. 229-251.

[4] The earliest being *Matlab-i Rashidi* by Turab 'Ali 'Alawi in 1863 in the Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow.

[5] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, pp. 391-3, 499-501, 503.

[6] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, p. 909.

[7] *Ibid.*, II, p. 834.

buildings they also put the khanqah literarily on the shelf or in the hand of the reader through paying for the publication of some of its books.

Some followers donated not money or goods to the shrine but their own services. While there was a steady flow of visitors throughout the year the khanqah experienced periods of hectic activity during and around the 'urs and fatihas. Large numbers of people came not only from Kakori and its environs but also from Lucknow and murids and khalifas assembled from all over the country. Together with the spiritual festivities there was a large fair next to the shrine.[1] All of the family helped with the arrangements and the decoration of the dargahs but there were -at least- two offices which were farmed out. One was that of supervising the cooking and the distribution of food.[2] During the 'urs and fatiha food was cooked for all the visitors and distributed free of charge (langar). This job demanded full time attention from the person in charge, "during those days he did not eat himself because he had no leisure time and it was his routine to take only tea."[3] The other office was the management of the fair. The more attractions were present at the fair the more people came to visit it.[4] Murids helping with the management of death anniversaries of the saints allowed family members to concentrate on other aspects of the organisation while they themselves helped in enhancing the celebrations. Their deeds were in honour of the dead saints.

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[1] While around the turn of the century c. 1,500 people came to the fair, in the 1960s this estimate had risen to c. 8,000 people. *DG Lucknow* (1922), Appendix: Fairs; and *DG Sup. Lucknow* (1988), p. 25.

[2] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, I, p. 244 fn. 2; discussion during the 'Urs 1991 with Mr. 'Abd al Reh who is in charge nowadays.

[3] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, I, p. 244 fn. 2.

[4] *Ibid.*, II, pp. 840, 864.

The 'Alawi family also contributed to the income of the shrine. As a rule none of the sajjada nashin's sons ever worked outside the khanqah with the exception of Himayat 'Ali, Muhammad Kazim's second son. He found himself employed in the Diwani under Maharaja Tikait Rai for some time.[1] Those who devoted their lives to the khanqah had to be supported from the income of the family members who earned money.[2] Wise investments on the part of the sajjada nashin helped along too. Shah Taqi Haidar, for example, bought a house in Kakori in 1939. Over 30 years later his second son was able to rent out various sections of the building and from the advance which he received it was possible for his brother, the sajjada nashin, and himself to go on hajj.[3] The extended family of the sajjada nashin, those who were born in Kakori and brought up in Takiya Sharif, all contributed to the smooth running of the khanqah by devoting time and money to it.

Two events in the twentieth century had a profound impact on the khanqah and the way it was funded. The first was Partition in 1947 and the second Zamindari Abolition in the early 1950s. After Partition a large number of the murids of Takiya Sharif migrated to Pakistan. Although they kept their allegiance to the shrine they were unable to visit it for some time and it was impossible for them to send money from Pakistan. The void left by their departure from Kakori town was filled by members of the non-ashraf class, mainly Hindus. The old composition and balance of the qasbah was destroyed, and the Muslim community which had been left behind became more radicalised. Their views became more orthodox as symbolised by the growing influence of Jama'at-i Islami and

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[1] 'Alawi, *Usul*, p. 474; 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 363.

[2] Interview with Dr.M.A. Alavi, 5 September 1992.

[3] Interview with Dr.M.A. Alavi, 28 June 1992.

Tablighi Jama'at. Takiya Sharif remained respected as a place of learning and knowledge even by the opposition but the anti-sufi currents became stronger after Partition.[1] Zamindari Abolition affected the khanqah more indirectly. It meant that those murids who were landlords lost their income. The tradition of spending months in Takiya Sharif, as for example the Nawab of Shahabad had done, came to an end.[2] Both events took something away from the 'old' Takiya Sharif, the one depopulating it somewhat and the other forcing it to rely more on contributions from family members.

Throughout its history Takiya Sharif has depended heavily for funds on its constituency. The founder and his successors perceived a clash between the mystic ideal of trust in God and the worldly concept of trust in royal patronage. But whereas the sajjada nashins had nothing to do with worldly power their followers were employed in service positions close to it. And it was these murids and khalifas, family and non-family, who contributed in manifold ways, through money, goods and time, to the development of the shrine. Clearly, the donations of and association with Maharaja Tikait Rai in the early stages of Shah Muhammad Kazim's calling helped to establish the khanqah. But here again family tradition put great emphasis on the fact that the Maharaja approached the saint and not vice versa, and that he came as a murid of Muhammad Kazim's guide and not as a figure of authority attempting to co-opt a religious institution.

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The spiritual tradition of Takiya Sharif was that of the service classes. Founded in

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[1] Interview with Dr.M.A. Alavi, 5 September 1992.

[2] *Ibid.*

the eighteenth century it was located near Lucknow, the capital of the province, in a small qasbah deeply imbued by the essence of high culture and civilization. The founder of the spiritual tradition, Shah Muhammad Kazim, belonged to a service family of long-standing which proved successful in adapting to the changing times in the nineteenth and twentieth century. The constituency of the shrine was drawn from exactly this class and spread over time successfully within it all over the Indian subcontinent. The shrine had also a substantial Hindu following but its traditions were shaped by its following from among the middle-class military and civil servants. The message of the shrine proclaimed by the sajjada nashins was transmitted through books and thus aimed at a literate environment. Without any large land grants the shrine depended for its support, money, goods and buildings, on its constituency. Because its fate was so closely intertwined with that of its patrons the events of the twentieth century, Independence, Partition and Zamindari Abolition, left their imprint on Takiya Sharif too. It was the service classes especially who migrated to Pakistan or other countries abroad in search of jobs and they were thus no longer able to support Takiya Sharif actively.

Chapter 3

Salon:

A Spiritual Tradition for the Awadhi countryside

The Setting

Salon, a small qasbah town of considerable antiquity, was situated on the main road from Rai Bareli to Partabgarh in southern Awadh. Founded by Bhars it was under Muslim influence from the eleventh century onwards. During the Nawabi rule Salon was the headquarters of a chakla, the pargana itself belonging to the jagir of Bahu Begam. Immediately after annexation the district was named after Salon, however after the Uprising in 1857 it was changed to Rai Bareli.[1]

The qasbah Salon, placed at some distance to Lucknow, was the centre of a large agricultural area. Its heyday continued until the late eighteenth century, the decline which set in then has continued up to the present. According to the 1901 census it had 5170 inhabitants of which 57 per cent were Muslims.[2] It was a prosperous town steeped in qasbah traditions but deeply embedded in the mostly Hindu traditions of the surrounding countryside.

Salon had all the usual offices and buildings necessary for a qasbah. In 1869 there was a bazar of local importance, a thana and a school. It also had the necessary religious

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[1] *DG Rai Bareli* (1905), pp. 215, 218.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 215.

constructions. At that time the town sported at least ten mosques and a Hindu temple,[1] by 1901 a Methodist Episcopal Mission had been added.[2] There were also tombs of martyrs from the time of the invasion by Saiyid Salar Mas'ud. Its most prominent feature though was the Khanqah Karimiya. Perched on the only hill within qasbah limits it was part of the town and through its size asserted its position of local eminence.

Religious Affiliation

The main sufi order to which the Khanqah Karimiya belonged was the Chishtiya-Nizamiya. The Chishtiya was the first sufi tariqa which reached and established itself in northern India, in Ajmer, in Delhi and in Pakpattan. Due to the large number of khalifas of the early Chishti saints which were sent to all corners of the country to found new sufi centres there and due to the political and cultural circumstances of the time which allowed for the popularisation of these saints the Chishtiya became the most wide-spread and the most indianised of all the sufi orders which reached the subcontinent. The Chishti-Nizami branch, named after Shaikh Nizam al Din Awliya (1238-1325) was the largest sub-section of the order.[3]

The founding saint of the khanqah at Salon, Shah Pir Muhammad Saloni, had received his Chishti initiation from Shah 'Abd al Karim Manikpuri (d.1647/48), the

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[1] *Gazetteer of the Province of Oudh*, III (N-Z), Allahabad, 1878, p. 291.

[2] *Imperial Gazetteer of India, Provincial Series, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, II, Calcutta, 1908, pp. 237-8.

[3] K.A. Nizami, "Čistiyya", *EI*^{2}, II; Digby, "The Sufi Shaikh as a Source of Authority", pp. 69-71.

Table: The Founder and the Sajjada nashins of the Khanqah Karimiya

Shah Pir Muhammad Saloni
(1585/6-1687)

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Shah Pir Muhammad Ashraf
(1666/7-1754)

■

Shah Pir Muhammad Panah
(1728/9-1778/9)

■

Shah Muhammad Karim 'Ata
(1762-1833)

■

Shah Muhammad Panah 'Ata
(1796-1859 or 1860)

■

Shah Muhammad Husain 'Ata
(1815-1880)

■

Shah Muhammad Mahdi 'Ata
(1850-1900)

■

Shah Muhammad Na'im 'Ata
(1881-1966)

■

Shah Muhammad Husain Ja'fri
(1912-1979)

■

Shah Ahmad Husain Ja'fri
(1942/3-)

sajjada nashin of the shrine of Shaikh Husam al Din Manikpuri (d.1449/50).[1] Shaikh Husam al Din had travelled to Pandua in his youth and had made bai'at with Shaikh Nur al Haqq Pandawi (d.1410/11 or 1416) and had received his spiritual instruction there.[2] In Pandua was one of the most important Chishti sufi centres in Bengal, it had been established by Akhi Siraj, a khalifa of Shaikh Nizam al Din Awliya, who was credited with bringing the Chishti traditions to Bengal.[3] His successor Shaikh 'Ala al Haqq Pandawi was the father of Shaikh Nur al Haqq. The Khanqah Karimiya was therefore firmly tied, via Manikpur and Pandua, to the founder of the Chishti-Nizami branch.

Shah Pir Muhammad Saloni not only received the Chishti initiation from Shah 'Abd al Karim Manikpuri, he was also initiated into the Qadariya, Suhrawardiya, Naqshbandiya, Madariya and Imamiya Sa'datiya[4]. In some orders he received the permission more than once, in the Madariya Shah Pir Muhammad had three permissions, in the Qadariya two and in the Chishtiya two. These orders had been gathered together by Shah 'Abd al Karim Manikpuri, he was the first sufi in whom they were all united. They had not been passed down together as a bundle of mystical strands within the khanqah in Manikpur.

Chishtiya, Suhrawardiya, Qadariya and Naqshbandiya were main-stream sufi orders which had been present in South Asia for sometime. Through the Naqshbandiya Shah Pir

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[1] Shaikh Husam al Din is also referred to as Shaikh Husam al Haqq Manikpuri.

[2] Rizvi, *Sufism*, I, p. 264.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, p. 257. See also A. Rahim, "Shaykh Akhi Siraj al-din Uthman, a Bengali Saint", *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, 9 (1961), pp. 23-9; and A. Rashid, "Some Chishti Saints of Bengal", *Proceedings of the Pakistan Historical Conference*, 2 (1952), pp. 207-16.

[4] No information has been found on this sufi order.

Muhammad Saloni was linked directly with Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi and contact was kept in the family with Naqshbandi shaikhs. Shah Panah 'Ata had corresponded with Shah 'Abd al 'Aziz Dehlawi and must have been aware of, as well as somewhat influenced by, his views.[1] The permission held in the Naqshbandiya stands somewhat uneasily next to the permissions in the Madariya. The Madari order belonged to that grouping of sufi tariqas considered to be bi-shar whose practices were frowned upon by orthodox Muslims. Closely resembling those of Hindu fakirs they placed no emphasis on fasting or prayer. Makanpur where Shah Badi' al Din Madar, the founder of the Madariya had been buried, was near Kanpur not very far from Manikpur or Salon.[2] The Madaris were particularly popular in Awadh and tens of thousands of people were coming to Makanpur for the 'urs of Shah Madar and the adjoining fair.[3]

Apart from the sufi orders which Shah Pir Muhammad Saloni received from his spiritual preceptor he did not acquire any further permissions from any other sufi. Neither did his successors. Only those orders given by Shah 'Abd al Karim Manikpuri were passed down from sajjada nashin to sajjada nashin. The one exception was Shah Pir 'Ata, the eldest son of Shah Pir Muhammad Ashraf, who proclaimed himself to be a Qalandar and a member of the Uwaisiya[4]. He had reached greater fame than his father but had died within his lifetime. Shah Na'im 'Ata stated that he had taken bai'at from Shah Pir 'Ata

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[1] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 22-23 August 1992; letter from Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 26 October 1993.

[2] M.M. Haq, "Shah Badi' al-din Madar and his Tariqah in Bengal", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan*, 12 (1967), pp. 95-102.

[3] *DG Kanpur* (1989), pp. 77, 335.

[4] For more information on the Uwaisiya see J. Baldick, *Imaginary Muslims: The Uwaysi Sufis of Central Asia*, I.B. Taurus, London, 1993.

in a dream (uwaisi bai'at) and thus combined the strands passed on from his father with those from Shah Pir 'Ata.[1]

The Khanqah Karimiya was linked with all the major sufi orders which had penetrated north India and especially Awadh. It was part of the dominant Chishti silsila but had also links with the other important sufi orders. The sajjada nashins felt no need to strike up further ties with other shrines of the area through receiving permissions from them. The spiritual standing of the sajjada nashin of the shrine of Salon was thus that he had no need to secure his position through taking in new silsilas. Although the sajjada nashins encountered other sufis of famous lineages, for instance the sajjada nashins of the dargah of Mu'in al Din Chishti of Ajmer, they felt no need to receive a further permission from them.[2] It was important to have connections of friendship with those shrines, the main centres of the Chishtiya in India, but no formal connections of dependency. Others came to the Khanqah Karimiya to make bai'at or receive the permission for disseminating the sufi order further but the sajjada nashins did not seek the permission from anybody else.

The Founding Story of the Spiritual Tradition

Similar to Shah Muhammad Kazim of Kakori, Shah Pir Muhammad Saloni was also a member of a family with roots outside of India. Born in 1585/6 as the second son

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[1] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 16 November 1991.

[2] 'Abd Allah Khan 'Alawi, *Tarikh-i Kara Manikpur* [hereafter: 'Alawi, *Tarikh*], Allahabad, 1916, p. 263; interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 5 June 1992.

he belonged to a family of Faruqi Shaikhs who had only recently moved to Salon. After an early education at home his father, Shah 'Abd al Nabi, sent Pir Muhammad in his youth to be instructed at the Madrasah Kala in Manikpur.[1] Manikpur was one of the oldest Muslim settlements in Awadh. It was not only a regional centre of learning but also of mysticism having over time attracted a number of saints from within and without India.[2]

Pir Muhammad Saloni, according to tradition, was a very studious young man who quickly acquired a grounding in the rational and religious sciences. He spent his days engrossed in the pursuit of knowledge. One morning on his way to school he was approached by a stranger. The old man, Shah 'Abd al Karim Manikpuri (d.1647/8), stopped him and asked: "What subjects are you reading in the madrasah?" Shah Pir Muhammad Saloni replied: "In tafsir I am reading Baizawi, in fiqh I am reading the Hidaya." Shah 'Abd al Karim told the young man: "Don't go to the madrasah. Come with me, I will teach you better things." But Pir Muhammad was not at all convinced by the words of the old man and continued on his way to school. There he could neither concentrate on his studies nor could his teacher teach.[3] Clearly the disrespect shown to the saint and his subjects was not to go unpunished.

Shah 'Abd al Karim Manikpuri was a spiritual and physical descendent of the fifteenth century mystic Shah Husam al Din Manikpuri. He was the sajjada nashin of his

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[1] Shah Muhammad Mahdi 'Ata, "Hazrat Shah Mahdi 'Ata Sahib quds-i rah ka Biyan: Qasbah Salon ka Khandan-i Karimi" [hereafter:'Ata, "Shah Mahdi 'Ata's Statement"], *Musannif*, 13:3 (1945), p.78; 'Alawi, *Tarikh*, p. 261; S.Z.H. Jafri, "Landed Properties of a Sufi Establishment: A Study of Seventeenth and Nineteenth Century Documents From Salon in Awadh", *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 1986, p. 417.

[2] *DG Partabgarh* (1980), pp. 64, 327-8.

[3] Interview with Dr.S.N.H.Jafri, 5 June 1992. This is the oral tradition passed down in the family. It is reflected to an extent in 'Abd al Hai, *Nuzhat al Khawatir*, Hyderabad, 1911, V, pp. 97-8; 'Alawi, *Tarikh*, p. 261.

ancestor's khanqah in Manikpur. Recognizing the spiritual potential of Pir Muhammad Saloni he had invited him into his shrine to benefit from his own teachings. When in the madrasah Pir Muhammad through his most probably intoxicated condition brought on by the encounter with the saint sabotaged the teaching, his teacher enquired of him what had happened. Shah Pir Saloni told him about the type of mendicant which he had met on the way and he related also the conversation which had taken place between them. The teacher then advised him to go to the saint and seek his pardon and blessings.[1]

Shah Pir Muhammad Saloni made bai'at in the Chishtiya with Shah 'Abd al Karim and began to study mysticism with him. He spent considerable time at the feet of his guide and after completing his spiritual training he received the permission in all the orders his guide held and the khilafat. His guide ordered him then to go back to Salon for which he granted him the spiritual territory.[2] There had never been a khanqah in Salon before.[3]

Before Shah Pir Muhammad Saloni could establish himself in Salon he first had to demonstrate his spiritual might against that of Hindu holymen. Shah 'Abd al Karim had told him to set up abode on the hill near the graves of two martyrs who had died during the campaign of Saiyid Salar Mas'ud.[4] At that time there lived on the hill some Hindu yogis. Shah Pir Muhammad Saloni and the yogis began to measure themselves in spiritual strength to determine who had power over the area. The most powerful yogi projected his image on every branch of a big tamarind tree which grew on the hill. When Shah Pir

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[1] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 5 June 1992; 'Alawi, *Tarikh*, p. 261.

[2] 'Alawi, *Tarikh*, pp. 261-2.

[3] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 16 November 1991.

[4] 'Ata, "Shah Mahdi 'Ata's Statement", p. 78.

Saloni's turn came he made his own face appear on every leaf of the tree. The yogis recognised his spiritual superiority[1] and, according to the written account of Shah Mahdi 'Ata, seventh sajjada nashin of the khanqah, converted to Islam and took bai'at from Shah Pir Muhammad.[2] It was nothing unusual for such a territorial dispute between fakirs to take place. Certain holy places where desirable for saints from all religions and Indian folklore is full of stories describing such spiritual combats.

Before Shah Pir Muhammad Saloni was fully accepted by the inhabitants of Salon he had to overcome a second hurdle. His display of powers had not yet convinced the Salonis and they decided to test his powers themselves. One evening they brought a coffin to the khanqah in which the person inside was alive. Shah Pir Muhammad asked the people: "Is the person inside really dead?" and he was reassured: "Yes, the person inside is really dead." The saint asked his two sons, Jan-i Janan and Mah-i Munnawar, to read out the funeral prayer. When the people of Salon took the coffin home afterwards they discovered that the person inside was dead. They went back to Shah Pir Muhammad and complained that the one inside the coffin had died. The saint got very angry with his sons and said to them: "You knew that these people were mocking us, there was no need for you to be so vindictive." He made his sons lie next to the coffin and himself read out the funeral prayer. At the end of it the person in the coffin had become alive again while the saint's two sons were dead.[3] The benevolence and magnanimity of Shah Pir Muhammad Saloni as well as his clearly supernatural faculties did not fail to impress the assembled

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[1] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 17 November 1991.

[2] 'Ata, "Shah Mahdi 'Ata's Statement", p. 78. Oral tradition however says that while some yogis took him as their pir others who did not want to, left Salon.

[3] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 17 November 1991.

inhabitants. They accepted Shah Pir Muhammad and his khanqah as part of Salon.

After taking up residence in Salon Shah Pir Muhammad Saloni divided his time between that qasbah and the khanqah of his guide. Shah 'Abd al Karim Manikpuri had no son who could succeed him and he granted the khilafat to both his nephew Sultan Bayazid and Shah Pir Saloni. After his death the question of succession to the sajjada nashini of the shrine at Manikpur arose. And here Shah Pir Muhammad Saloni proved his spiritual power a third time in a serious dispute which involved establishing a pecking order between saints and shrines. Shah Pir Saloni put the khirqa of his guide in a small box and placed it at the foot end of his grave. He said: "Whoever is the real successor he shall take the khirqa." Sultan Bayazid came forward and tried to lift up the box but he could not, however much he tried. As soon as Shah Pir Saloni attempted it he could lift the box effortlessly. The khirqa[1] went to Salon and with it went the kudos of greater power.[2]

During his life Shah 'Abd al Karim Manikpuri had been a frequent visitor to Salon. A qawwali sung during the 'urs ceremonies relates how delighted he was with his pupil's success in attracting people to the khanqah. This close connection between Salon and Manikpur was maintained up to the middle of the twentieth century. Shah Pir Karim 'Ata, the fourth sajjada nashin, gave a whole village as a present to the family of his spiritual preceptor.[3] Further the sajjada nashins of the Khanqah Karimiya of Salon were

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[1] This is the Khirqa Karimiya, one of the five relics of the sajjada nashin. It is said to have been bought by Shah 'Abd al Karim Manikpuri with all the money he had with him during a hajj. Made out of camel wool it is a garment believed to have been worn by the Prophet.

[2] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 5 June 1992.

[3] "Memorandum by the Hon'ble Sayed Mahmud on the Muhammadan Endowment at Salone", 20 August 1884, [hereafter: *Sayed Mahmud's Memorandum*], in

not only present during the two main 'urs celebrations in Manikpur but they also presided over them. The entire management was in their hands. But then they considered the two 'urs celebrations in Manikpur to be only small affairs, since over the years Salon had stolen the show from them.[1]

The activities of Shah Pir Muhammad Saloni gave him some local prominence. He is said to have fed the poor and needy on a large scale and to have given alms to whoever came to see him.[2] He also became renowned as "one knowing mystic truths"[3] and coming originally from the scholastic tradition to the sufi one he was able to draw on both. He is said to have had between 250 and 300 ulama as murids, obviously on a national level.[4] His deeds were enough to get him noticed by local officials who conferred on him parts of the land of village Mirzapur Bakhtiyar[5]. In 1676 this was confirmed by a firman from Awrangzib.[6] The land grant gave some financial security to the saint and was the first in a series which were to allow the sajjada nashins of the khanqah to pursue their mystical

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"Maladministration of the Salone endowment, Rai Bareli District", NWP&O, GAD, List 25A, Serial 34, File 102, Cover 8, UPSA, Lucknow.

[1] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 5 June 1992.

[2] J.C. Wood, Officiating Deputy Commissioner, Partabgarh, to Commissioner, Baiswara Division, 13 July 1861, [hereafter: *Wood's Despatch*], in "Claim of Shah Mohammad Husain Ata to certain Mafi tenures in the Salone district (now Rae Bareli)", BoR (Rai Bareli), No. 641 of 1860-2, UPSA, Lucknow.

[3] From the first firman from Awrangzib to Shah Pir Muhammad Saloni, 1676, quoted in Jafri, "Landed Properties", p. 418.

[4] 'Alawi, *Tarikh*, p. 262; interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 22-23 August 1992.

[5] Also referred to as Mirza Bakhtiyarpur.

[6] S.Z.H. Jafri, "Two Madad-i-Ma'ash Farmans of Aurangzeb from Awadh", *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 1979, pp. 302-13; Jafri, "Landed Properties", p. 418 and Appendix B Document No. 1. (Documents No. 1, 2, 5, 6 and 10 of Appendix B were omitted in the publication of the Indian History Congress Volume for 1986. For those the original paper presented by Dr.S.Z.H. Jafri has been consulted.)

paths independent of popular opinion but dependent on the good will of the rulers of the day.

The Family History

There was not only one family supplying sajjada nashins for the Khanqah Karimiya but two. Closely connected through marriage these two families had come to Salon at different times. Shah Pir Muhammad Saloni, the founder of the shrine, was a Faruqi by clan. Descended from the second successor of the Prophet their ancestral homeland was Yemen.[1] From there the family seems to have migrated to Central Asia as the twelfth century sees them moving from Bukhara to Delhi. After a short period in Nagor the family's history can be traced back to Delhi from where they left for Jaunpur during the Sharqi kingdom.[2] The mid-sixteenth century finds them still in Jaunpur but between then and Shah Pir Muhammad's birth in 1585/6 Shah 'Abd al Nabi, his father, took them to Salon as he was related to Qazi Saiyid Nizam al Din, the progenitor of the Saiyids of Salon.[3] Most of the family remained in Salon until the twentieth century when events forced some of them to take up jobs outside the qasbah or to move to Pakistan.

The second family which played a role in the history of the shrine had as its ancestor the sixth Shia Imam Ja'far Sadiq. Starting out from Medina their path led then

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[1] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 16 November 1991.

[2] Rizvi, *Sufism*, I, pp. 196, 262; Saiyid Iqbal Ahmad Jawnpuri, *Tarikh-i Salatin-i Sharqi awr Sufiya-i Jawnpur* [hereafter: Jawnpuri, *Tarikh-i Jawnpur*], Jaunpur, 1988, II, p. 1369; 'Ata, "Shah Mahdi 'Ata's Statement", p. 78.

[3] *Sayed Mahmud's Memorandum.*

east too. The family moved via Nishapur in the present Iran to Marghilan in present-day Uzbekistan. From there they migrated to Jaunpur during the Sharqi kingdom and then to Rai Bareli. During the early nineteenth century the first marriage alliance between the Faruqis of Salon and the Saiyids of Rai Bareli was struck. After the death of the eighth sajjada nashin in 1966 Shah Muhammad Husain Ja'fri became his successor and the sajjada nashinship was then passed on to his son.[1]

Both families had strong mystical leanings even before they came to Salon. Two of the Faruqi ancestors were important figures in the sufi movement. One was Qazi Hamid al Din Nagori and the other Shah Adhan Jawnpuri. Qazi Hamid al Din was a thirteenth century Suhrawardi saint. Born in Delhi he was Qazi in Nagor (in present Rajasthan) for three years before embarking on extensive travels in the Middle East during which he became a disciple of Shaikh Shahab al Din Suhrawardi and a friend of Khwaja Qutb al Din Bakhtiyar Kaki. He was an eminent scholar and three of his writings have survived until today. At the time his texts were read and lectured by Chishti and Suhrawardi sufis alike. Qazi Hamid al Din Nagori's hallmark was his penchant for sama' which involved him in a running battle about its permissiveness with the ulama of Delhi, where he had settled.[2]

Shaikh Min Allah, more popularly known as Shah Adhan Jawnpuri (d.1562)[3] was a prominent Chishti saint of the Sharqi kingdom. A disciple of his father he had similar to Qazi Hamid al Din Nagori a great liking for sama'. The Faruqis have since also been

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[1] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 22-23 August 1992; Shijra of the Ja'fri family, Salon Archive.

[2] Rizvi, *Sufism*, I, pp. 196-9; interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 5 June 1992.

[3] Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, p. 289, puts it at 1568/9.

known by the name Adhani.[1]

The ancestor of the Ja'fris, another Chishti mystic of the Sharqi kingdom, was Makhdum Adil al Mulk Saiyid Muhammad Rai Barelwi. He was a khalifa of Shah Nur al Haqq Pandawi who through Shaikh 'Ala al Haqq Pandawi and Shaikh Akhi Siraj was linked to Shah Nizam al Din Awliya.[2]

Both the families featured also a number of scholars and teachers. Apart from Qazi Hamid al Din Nagori, "probably the most learned khalifa of Shaikh Shahab al Din Suhrawardi"[3], there was Saiyid Shaikh Zahir al Din of Marghilan in Uzbekistan who was recognized as the author of a collection of fatwas and became known as Sahib-i Fatawa Zahiri al Kubra.[4] Saiyid Sa'd Allah Saloni (d.1725) the grandson of Shah Pir Muhammad Saloni, on the female side, was a scholar of secular as well as religious sciences. He is said to have been interested in Christian and Judaic studies.[5] Saiyid Muhammad Muddassir Hasani al Husaini (Rai Barelwi) who lived in the first half of the nineteenth century was both an 'alim and a scholar. He had received his education at Farangi Mahal at the feet of Mulla Mobin.[6] In the twentieth century Shah Halim 'Ata (d.1955) was Shaikh al Hadith at Nadwat al Ulama in Lucknow.[7] His works on sufism not only became known within

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[1] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 5 June 1992; Jawnpuri, *Tarikh-i Jawnpur*, II, pp. 1369-75; Rizvi, *Sufism*, I, p. 263.

[2] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 22-23 August 1992. See also this chapter, 'Religious Affiliation'.

[3] Rizvi, *Sufism*, I, p. 196.

[4] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 22-23 August 1992.

[5] Letter from Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 29 August 1992.

[6] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 22-23 August 1992.

[7] Nadwat al Ulama, founded in 1891, was a religious seminary for the training of ulama.

India but also impressed an audience in the Middle East.[1] Others worked as teachers in different villages in Awadh and later in Pakistan.[2]

The family did, of course, also have a tradition of serving the political authority of the day. The elder brother of Shah Pir Muhammad Saloni, Shah Abu Muhammad, was a Diwan under Awrangzib.[3] And one of the Ja'fri-ancestors, Makhdum Adil al Mulk Saiyid Muhammad Rai Barelwi, was a chief justice (qazi al qazat) in Jaunpur during the Sharqi kingdom.[4] But these connections to the state through employment ceased when the families became involved in the shrine. It is only in the twentieth century that exceptions can be found.

The legal sphere is one area in which many Ja'fris had been involved. Apart from the fatwas of Saiyid Shaikh Zahir al Din and the chief justice in Jaunpur, the ninth sajjada nashin trained and worked as a lawyer before he took over the spiritual office. He practised after Zamindari Abolition in the local revenue courts in Partabgarh and Rai Bareli.[5]

With the increasing number of land grants given to the sajjada nashins many family members began to live of the soil. On their arrival in Salon the Faruqis did not possess any land at all. Over time various family members received either a stipend from the sajjada or they acquired possession of certain villages for their living expenses.[6]

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[1] Interview with Dr.S.Z.H. Jafri, 4 June 1992.

[2] Letter from Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 26 October 1993.

[3] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 5 June 1992.

[4] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 22-23 August 1992.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Sayed Mahmud's Memorandum*, Appendix B and E.

Certainly all the descendants of Shah Karim 'Ata lived of the proceeds of the land and this continued until the middle of the twentieth century.[1] Further investment in property increased their personal land holdings over time until the advent of Zamindari Abolition in the 1950s.

Both families came from similar backgrounds. They both belonged to the ashraf class and had held similar professions in the past. The fact that they lived off the land which provided a guaranteed income meant that they were not immediately affected by the changes which occurred in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in India. They were not members of the service-class who had to acquire new skills in order to keep the jobs they had held traditionally. It was only in the twentieth century that it became necessary to look for work outside the shrine and most of the jobs which they took were those of teacher, journalist or lawyer, professions which did not involve a direct employment by the state.

The Constituency of the Shrine

The shrine at Salon consisted of two service institutions for the public, one was the khanqah and the other was the attached madrasah. The flow of visitors to the khanqah was made up of similar components as that at Takiya Sharif, Kakori, namely lay supplicants, murids and khalifas. And just as Takiya Sharif, a shrine set in a service-class qasbah and run by members of a service-class family, had a largely service-class based constituency, the Khanqah Karimiya, set in a largely agricultural and Hindu area and run

[1] Letter from Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 26 October 1993.

by members of scholarly-landowning family, had a constituency reflecting these two elements: it was overwhelmingly rural but incorporated also men of rank and scholarship on a supra-regional basis.

Most of the supplicants and murids came from Salon itself and the surrounding area, especially from the waqf and personal villages held by the sajjada nashin and his family. A number of the villages had been founded by the sajjada nashins of the shrine and the inhabitants were their tenants. Dual ties to the shrine existed therefore for many of the people. Those coming to the shrine were consequently mainly peasants and zamindars of the neighbourhood. Hasan Thani Nizami remarked:

> I found the shrine at Salon the only one in eastern UP where the pilgrims coming to the 'urs, despite being villagers, were very well mannered.[1]

The allegiance of a landlord to the khanqah did not, however, mean that also his tenantry would become murids.[2]

As Salon was regarded as little more than "a village in the heart of a very Hindu population"[3] the number of Hindus frequenting the shrine was well over 50 per cent. Almost all of them came from the surrounding area. Since Hindus were not allowed to become formally attached murids in Salon, their association with the shrine was on the supplicant level only.[4] Even in communally disturbed times Hindus were faithful clients of the Khanqah Karimiya. Tensions in the population were kept out of the shrine although

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[1] Hasan Thani Nizami, "Bargah-i Salon", *Manadi*, 52:4,6 (1977), p. 44.

[2] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 5 June 1992.

[3] Note of J. Woodburn, Chief Secretary, 23 March 1887, in "Maladministration of the Salone endowment, Rai Bareli District", NWP&O, GAD, List 25A, Serial 34, File 102, Cover 10, UPSA, Lucknow.

[4] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 5 June 1992.

political campaigns or upheaval did affect the attendance figures. During the 1990 Ajodhia Masjid campaign, for instance, Hindu followers of the shrine would leave the demonstrations which passed along the khanqah, turn around to the shrine at the gate, fold their hands and bow or touch the stairs leading up to it. Personal devotion it seemed was one thing and the general political campaign something totally different.[1]

One significant group of constituents were the families of the sajjada nashins. Although their numbers were not that large they owed their allegiance to the sajjada nashin. Some rose in the hierarchy and became khalifas[2] while all of them would be murids. Most of the family lived within the shrine complex and lived off the proceeds of the land.

The madrasah which is the second important institution within the shrine was founded by Shah Pir Muhammad Saloni.[3] The largest group of students attending it were Muslim boys of Salon and its environment. Those who lived further away stayed as boarders in the school where they were clothed and fed from the waqf proceeds. Hindus were only very rarely found among the pupils.[4] The school taught them religious sciences as well as Arabic and Persian, its curriculum was based on the Dars-i Nizami.[5] Nowadays it functions as a Quran school for both boys and girls of Salon. According to family

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[1] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 16 November 1991; for a similar observation in medieval Deccan: Eaton, *Sufis of Bijapur*, p. 239.

[2] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 5 June 1992.

[3] According to *Sayed Mahmud's Memorandum* it was founded in 1815.

[4] *Sayed Mahmud's Memorandum.*

[5] The Dars-i Nizami was developed by the ulama of Farangi Mahal in the eighteenth century. Its emphasis was on the rational rather than the revealed sciences. It came to dominate religious teaching in South Asia to the present.

tradition, students from Tibet and Nepal came to the madrasah in the last century.[1] Certainly in 1895 the Deputy Commissioner of Rai Bareli found a number of scholars from the Punjab in the school, there to "receive high Arabic education in Hadees and Fikah"[2]. The Madrasah Karimiya always served as a local educational institution but its sway had previously extended much further, fuelled by the renown scholarship of the sajjada nashins.

Apart from students, scholars were part of the constituency of the shrine in Salon. Shah Pir Muhammad Saloni was reputed to have had 250 to 300 ulama as his murids.[3] With the foundation of the madrasah the teachers who were employed there became part of the constituency. While some of them were drawn to Salon from further afield, in the late nineteenth century for example the teacher was a Mawlwi from Punjab,[4] others took the spirit of the khanqah and school with them, as did Mawlana Muhammad Hamid Khan Hindi, a khalifa of Shah Na'im 'Ata who settled in Hyderabad for most of his life.[5]

The other supra-regional group which was part of the constituency were the aristocracy. Many leaders of princely states in India were devotees of the shrine. Sleeman mentions the princes of Bhopal and Sironj who were followers and so was the Maharaja

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[1] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 5 June 1992.

[2] "Maladministration of the Salone endowment, Rae Bareli district", M.I. Khan, Deputy Commissioner, Rai Bareli, to Commissioner, Lucknow Division, 2 December 1895, NWP&O, GAD, List 25A, Serial 34, File 102, Cover 2, UPSA, Lucknow.

[3] See this chapter, 'The Founding of the Spiritual Tradition'.

[4] M.I. Khan, Deputy Commissioner, Rai Bareli, to Commissioner, Lucknow Division, 2 December 1895, "Maladministration of the Salone endowment, Rae Bareli district", NWP&O, GAD, List 25A, Serial 34, File 102, Cover 2, UPSA, Lucknow.

[5] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 5 June 1992.

of Rewa and his descendants, a state in what is now Madhya Pradesh.[1] Many of the local men of rank were also drawn to the shrine and some expressed their piety through granting land to the sajjada nashins.[2] The Nawabs and Mughals came to the shrine at Salon too, underlining the fact that the Chishtiya in general had acquired an aristocratic clientele and having been patronized by the ruling authorities for some centuries Chishti piety had been elevated nearly to the level of an imperial cult.[3]

The Khanqah Karimiya had a large number of khalifas, those empowered to make disciples and to set up their own mystical establishment. Many of them did both and to date the number of recognised off-shoots from Salon is eight.[4] The founder of the shrine saw his khalifas establish themselves in Sandila and Rai Bareli and, through a further link, in Phulwari Sharif, Patna. Shah Pir 'Ata, eldest son of Shah Pir Muhammad Ashraf, had one khalifa originally from Central Asia who went and established his own shrine in Hyderabad. Shah Karim 'Ata, the fourth sajjada, saw one of his khalifas move to Rewa. A khalifa of Shah Mahdi 'Ata migrated to Sukkur while one of Shah Na'im 'Ata's went to Kotri, both in what is now Pakistan. And lastly a khanqah in Zaidpur was founded during Shah Mahdi 'Ata's times.[5] Much more intense connections could be maintained with those shrines closer to Salon, but generally the word about Salon spread in ever

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[1] Sleeman, *Journey*, I, p. 237; maktub Maharaja Rewa to Shah Husain 'Ata, Salon Archive; letter from Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 26 October 1993.

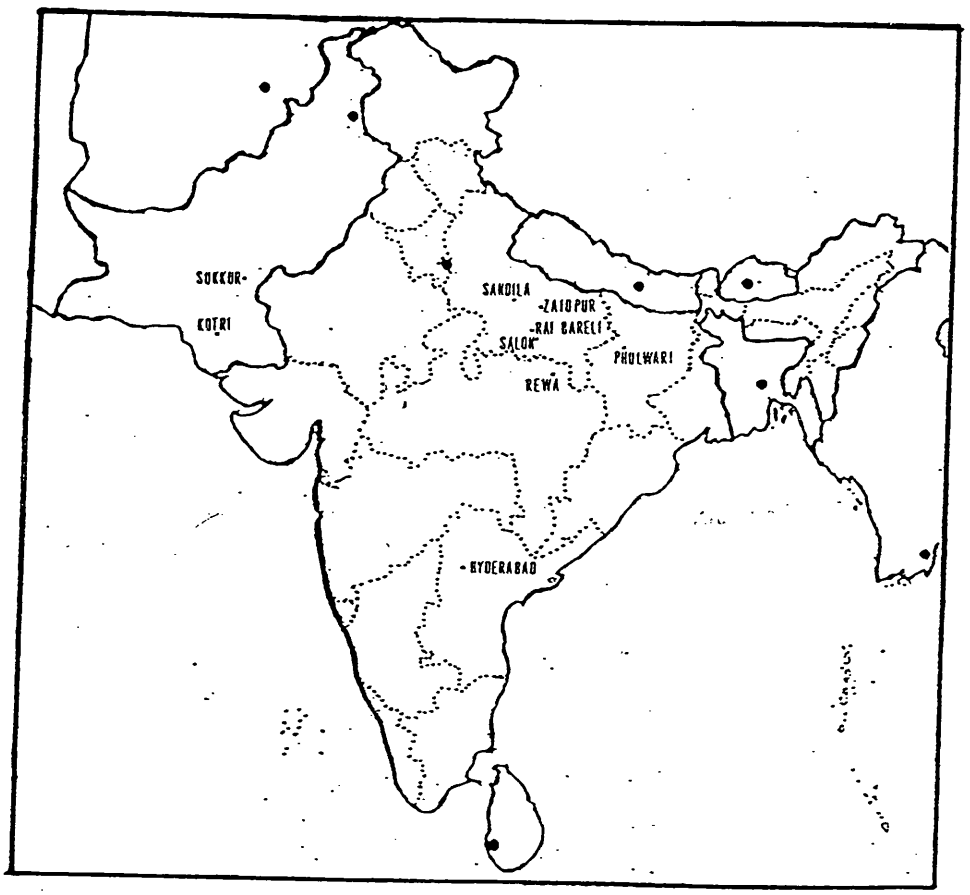
[2] Jafri, "Landed Properties", pp. 419-20.

[3] R.M. Eaton, "Mughal religious culture and popular Islam in Bengal" in A.L. Dallapiccola and S. Zingel-Avé Lallemant, eds., *Islam and Indian Regions*, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart, 1993, pp. 82, 86.

[4] See Map: 'Branch'-khanqahs of the Khanqah Karimiya.

[5] 'Alawi, *Tarikh*, p. 262; interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 18 November 1991.

Map: 'Branch'-khanqahs of the Khanqah Karimiya



wider circles in the Indian subcontinent.

Apart from those groups of people to whom the khanqah offered services there was a mystical web which spread over India spun between the different saints and shrines as they corresponded, visited and consulted each other. The sajjada nashins invited each other to attend the 'urs function. Salon for instance, sent invitations to shrines in Ajmer (shrine of Khwaja Mu'in al Din Chishti), Allahabad (Daira Shah Ajmal), Amethi near Lucknow (shrine of Shaikh Nizam al Din Amethwi), Dewa (Manager of the Haji Waris Ali Shah Trust Committee), Delhi (shrine of Nizam al Din Awliya), Jais, Jaunpur, Kakori (Takiya Sharif), Kalpi, Lucknow (Farangi Mahal, shrine of Shah Mina, shrine of 'Abd al Muwahhid Lucknowi), Majgumma, Manikpur (shrine of Shah Husam al Din Manikpuri), Makanpur (shrine of Shah Saiyid Badi al Din Madar), Nagram, Rudauli (shrine of Shah 'Abd al Haqq Rudaulwi) and Zaidpur. About half of these have participated frequently in the ceremonies over the last 30 years.[1] Those who were unable to visit each other kept up a correspondence. Shah Muhammad Panah 'Ata for example exchanged letters with Shah 'Abd al 'Aziz Dehlawi, a direct contemporary of his.[2] Other saints came to stay in the khanqah either on route to some other place as Shah Muhammad Kazim Qalandar did when he went to see his guide in Allahabad[3] or to receive their spiritual training. In the late nineteenth century the future sajjada nashin of the Chishti shrine of Shaikh Nizam al Din Amethwi spent 12 years in Salon to be instructed there.[4] In the 1830s Donald Butter

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[1] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 5 June 1992.

[2] 'Ata, "Shah Mahdi 'Ata's Statement", p. 80; interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 22-23 August 1992.

[3] Muhammad Kazim 'Alawi, *Naghmat al Asrar* called *Santras*, trans. into Urdu by Mujtaba Haidar 'Alawi, Lucknow, c. 1956, pp. 72-3.

[4] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 18 November 1991.

remarked that at any one time there were around 100 Muslim and Hindu fakirs staying in the khanqah.[1] These interactions were of course helped through marital ties which were struck up between families of similar sufi and ashraf background.[2] The sufi network was based on a strict order of precedence, and while seniority in terms of transmission of knowledge was the key element, younger shrines on the ascent were keen to raise their standing versus older shrines whose influence had begun to decline.[3]

In the twentieth century this network proved useful for political purposes. Shah Muhammad Fakhir of the Daira Shah Ajmal in Allahabad, on the invitation list of the Khanqah Karimiya, became first active in Swadeshi meetings, then in the 1910s in Congress politics and in the 1920s played a part in the Khilafat Movement.[4] Farangi Mahal, on the invitation list too, was heavily involved in the Khilafat Movement through Mawlana 'Abd al Bari.[5] Shah Na'im 'Ata, sajjada nashin of Salon, was also not afraid to take a stance in politics. He was active in most affairs of regional or Muslim importance.

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[1] D. Butter, *Outlines of the Topography and Statistics of the Southern Districts of Oudh, and of the Cantonment Sultanpur, Oudh*, Huttmann, Calcutta, 1839, pp. 138-9.

[2] Shah Husain 'Ata married a lady from Amethi near Lucknow, Shah Mahdi 'Ata married two sisters from Dewa, the youngest daughter of the ninth sajjada nashin married into the Khanqah Niyaziya in Bareilly.

[3] The relationship between the shrines in Amethi near Lucknow and Salon is an example. The fact that Amethi, the older shrine, sent a future sajjada nashin to be instructed at Salon redefined their order of importance.

[4] C.A. Bayly, *The Local Roots of Indian Politics: Allahabad 1880-1920*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1975, pp. 80 fn.1, 225, 254, 264, 266 fn.5.

[5] F. Robinson, *Separatism Among Indian Muslims: The Politics of the United Provinces' Muslims 1860-1923*, Oxford University Press, reprint, Delhi, 1993, Appendix III.

In the early 1920s he was involved in the Kisan movement and the Khilafat Movement.[1] The usage of this network in the early 1920s by a number of people important in the Khilafat Movement to mobilize the sajjada nashins of many sufi khanqahs proved very successful. This spiritual network could thus work both ways. While the other shrines were part of Salon's constituency, Salon was also part of their constituency with all the responsibilities that this entailed.

Making bai'at

In families with a tradition of muridship the making of bai'at is one of the rites which mark the passage from childhood to adulthood. Only an adult can make bai'at in Salon. A person had to be able to make up his own mind whether he wanted to owe allegiance to a saint or not. The children of the sajjada nashin's family for example, were present in khanqah life from very early on but they did not become disciples until they had acquired some maturity. At the very earliest this would be when they had become teenagers.[2]

When a person was ready to become a disciple he had to decide which silsila he wanted to become part of. The sajjada nashin of the Khanqah Karimiya held the initiations in and was empowered to pass on a number of sufi orders. He would therefore ask a

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[1] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 5 June 1992.
For an unsympathetic account of his involvement in the Kisan Movement see M.H. Siddiqi, *Agrarian Unrest in North India: The United Provinces, 1918-22*, Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, 1978, pp. 155-6.

[2] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 17 November 1991.

murid-to-be which order he wanted to follow. As Salon was a Chishti-Nizami shrine the Chishtiya was always present but it was nothing unusual to receive the initiation in two, three or four different orders.[1] The only exception were female disciples. They were only initiated in the Qadariya. The Qadari order as represented by Salon did not allow for sama'. It was consequently not permissable for female murids to attend the sama' sessions. One explanation for this could be that if they became moved during sama' and would get into a trance, get up and act without restraint, the sama' assembly would have to be abandoned. Women only performed meditation (zikr) during the 'urs and even that they did alone.[2]

It is impossible to discover the exact number of murids made by the sajjada nashins of the shrine over time. There have, for instance, been wholesale conversions of Hindu clan groups. Parts of a clan of Baiswara Rajputs maintain that according to their own family history they were converted to Islam by Shah Karim 'Ata. Since then they have been followers of the shrine and have paid regular homage to it.[3]

In Salon it was the rule that only the sajjada nashin made murids. There had been exceptions, of course. Shah Pir 'Ata, the eldest son of Shah Pir Muhammad Ashraf, made murids in his own name during his father's lifetime.[4] He had in fact been more famous than his father, he was a Qalandar saint, and almost always drowned in the love for God (majzub). He died during his father's lifetime.[5] On the whole though within the Khanqah

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[1] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 16 November 1991.

[2] Interview with Dr.S.Z.H. Jafri, 19 January 1992.

[3] Interview with Dr.S.Z.H. Jafri, 19 January 1992.

[4] Interviews with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 18 November 1991 and 22-23 August 1992.

[5] *Sayed Mahmud's Memorandum*; interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 16 November 1991.

Karimiya people were discouraged from making bai'at with anybody else except the sajjada nashin.[1] This did not only apply to outsiders but also to family members. Many of the wives of Shah Na'im 'Ata for instance, were his murids. A wife being a murid of her husband was not seen as complicating their spiritual relationship.[2]

The concept of wilayat[3] played an important role why the sajjada nashin was the only source of spiritual power. When Shah Pir Muhammad Saloni came to Salon his guide had granted him that area as being his spiritual kingdom.[4] His son and successor was later granted the wilayat of Lucknow by Shah Mina Lucknowi.[5] 200 years later Shah Na'im 'Ata considered himself to be the qutb, the leading saint, of UP. There was one saint, Maqbul Miyan, a contemporary of his from Khairabad, whom he respected. Therefore his wilayat, was according to him, UP minus Sitapur district. He did not pray for people from that district but sent them back to their saint. Although it is not known whether the two saints ever met the deal was reciprocal. When once one of Shah Na'im 'Ata's relatives went to Maqbul Miyan to ask for his blessings and intercession and it was discovered who he was, he was sent straight back to Salon.[6]

The sajjada nashins of Salon had always had a number of khalifas. But not all of them went on to make murids themselves. Ibrahim Shah who was a khalifa of Shah Mahdi 'Ata went to Zaidpur, Bara Banki district, and established his own khanqah there. He did

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[1] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 24 September 1992.

[2] Which is in contrast to what is done in Kakori, see Chapter 2, 'Making Bai'at'; interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 22-23 August 1992.

[3] For this see Chapter 2, 'Making Bai'at'.

[4] 'Alawi, *Tarikh*, p. 262.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 263.

[6] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 17 November 1991.

not make any murids himself though. Neither did his two successors. They took all prospective murids to Salon to make bai'at with the sajjada nashin there. Furthermore, the two successors, 'Arif Shah and 'Abd al Rahman Shah, both found it necessary to reconfirm their allegiance to Salon. Each of them on taking charge of the khanqah came to Salon to receive a new khilafat nama acknowledging them in their position. It seems that the Zaidpur people felt it was important to remember their roots and theirs were in Salon.[1]

Ministering to the Constituency

> In 1991 when Shah Ahmad Husain, the present sajjada nashin, went on hajj his nominated successor and his youngest brother both filled in for him in the khanqah in Salon. Their duties included performing nikah, leading the prayer and being present for the people. Generally on Thursdays after 5.30 pm a number of visitors, c. 50, came to the shrine. Those who had come from close by stayed the night and departed in the morning while those from further afield like Allahabad only left after the Friday prayer. For all of them food was provided by the shrine.
>
> When they came to see the officiating sajjada nashin, maybe after having prayed in the mosque and visited the tombs, they told him that they felt mentally stressed and unbalanced and that they had come in search of the peaceful atmosphere of the khanqah to refresh themselves. Some girls came to the shrine with their elders who were looking for suitable marriage proposals. Wives came to the sajjada nashin complaining about their husbands either because they were being ignored or because they were unfriendly to them. The role of the sajjada nashin was to offer solace, to try to pacify the complaining party, to try to mediate and conciliate, to make people give way and compromise, in this case, for their marriage's sake.[2]

The ways in which the sajjada nashin ministered to the patrons of the shrine

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[1] Interview with Dr.S.Z.H. Jafri, 14 January 1992.

[2] Interview with Dr.S.Z.H. Jafri, 25 January 1992.

depended on what type of constituency he was dealing with. Because most of the clients of the Khanqah Karimiya lived either in Salon proper or in the area around it, most of the interaction with their spiritual guide took place on an immediate, face-to-face level. For them it was easy to go to the khanqah to see the saint, either to receive the appropriate post-bai'at care or, being without formal attachment to the saint, to try to find a solution for their problems. The sajjada nashins were accessible to the people at most times of the day since their living quarters and the zenana were part of the shrine complex. When supplicants came with a problem the saint assured them that he would pray for them after midnight and most nights the sajjada nashin was up all night deeply immersed in his payers to God.[1] The sajjada nashins would never refer a supplicant with problems to another shrine.[2]

The sajjada nashins did not discriminate between the different people who came to see them. Anyone was welcome. There was only one exception which Shah Na'im 'Ata indulged in during the last part of his life. He questioned those who belonged to the police force very closely as to whether they were armed police or civilian police. He refused to pray or even listen to members of the civilian police force because of the widespread corruption and bribery within it. He had his own concept of the armed police whom he considered to be para-military forces which he thought were not corrupt. He made no distinction along communal lines within the civilian police force. He refused them all.[3]

Often people expected something more tangible from their spiritual guide in times of need then prayer or advice. What they were looking and asking for were amulets or

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[1] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 17 November 1991.

[2] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 5 June 1992.

[3] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 17 November 1991.

charms to ward off evil forces and to cure illnesses.[1] The sajjada nashins of Salon gave out these amulets either in the form of verses of the Quran written on paper or as bottles of water over which they had blown which had the same protective and healing effect. This water had the advantage of generally defusing potentially dangerous situations. For instance, whenever there were communal tensions in the area and the people found it unsafe to leave their houses the sajjada nashin gave them such water on which he had blown to pour out over the areas they were afraid to pass through or to live in. Alongside with the blessed water the people were advised to recite certain verses. That, according to family tradition, always ensured the safety of the individual who had asked for it. This type of water was also used inside the khanqah complex for the same purposes.[2]

Those who lived too far away to come to the shrine wrote to the sajjada nashin and informed him of their affairs by post. While this became increasingly important in the twentieth century when more people left the village and qasbah environment in search of a new job or country, the sajjada nashins had exchanged letters with fellow mystics and scholars as well as members of the nobility since the foundation of the shrine. The letters from the devotees were not only addressed to the then presiding sajjada nashin but could also be meant for an already departed saint. Nearly thirty years after his death people were still sending letters to Shah Na'im 'Ata care of his successor who was supposed to read

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[1] An example for the later is found in Abu al Nasir Mu'in al Din Muhammad Akbar-i Thani, son of the emperor Shah 'Alam, to Shah Panah 'Ata, sajjada nashin, quoted in "'Muntakhab-i Sa'id' ka bab duwum" [hereafter: 'Ata, "Muntakhab-i Sa'id"], trans. into Urdu by Muhammad Hadi 'Ata, *Musannif*, 13:4 (1946), p. 115. The son of the emperor Shah 'Alam reported in a letter that his father's piles had been cured by the ta'wiz sent.

[2] Interview with Dr.S.Z.H. Jafri, 25 January 1992.

them out at Shah Na'im 'Ata's grave.[1] The supplicants believed that Shah Na'im 'Ata's spiritual might was greater than that of his successor and they appealed to the highest authority available to them.

Murids had, of course, also other methods of communication available to them. They transmitted their needs and wishes by thought, dream or vision to the sajjada nashin.[2] And similarly the guide or even guide-to-be could convey his message or image to the seeker by such means.[3] It reassured the disciple that whatever situation he might find himself in he was never cut off from his guide and could always call on his assistance in moments of anxiety.

It was not always the seeker who came to the shrine sometimes the sajjada nashin or a family member visited the murids. Up to the twentieth century the sajjada nashins of Salon had been recluses and once they had taken charge of the shrine they never left it. Shah Na'im 'Ata, however, travelled around a lot. He spent much time in his villages but went also to Rai Bareli, Lucknow and Kanpur. Although he never visited a murid's house he was there in the village or town and approachable for them.[4] This personal presence was also very sought after by the various shrines which branched out from Salon. Since some of their 'urs were at the same time as in Salon it was impossible to get the sajjada nashin to come to them but these 'branch'-khanqahs were always interested in having a

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[1] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 17 November 1991. This practice is somewhat similar to what happens in the shrine at Fatehpur Sikri. There people hang small letters with a request or a problem in the tomb of Shaikh Salim Chishti. It will then be taken down when that wish has been fulfilled.

[2] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 17 November 1991. See also Chapter 2, 'Ministering to the Constituency'.

[3] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 18 November 1991.

[4] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 22-23 August 1992.

member of the sajjada nashin's family present, obviously to be the guest of honour.[1]

One direct and material way in which the sajjada nashin of the Khanqah Karimiya ministered to his constituency was through acts of charity and generosity. When Shah Pir Muhammad Saloni came to Salon "he began feeding the poor and needy and giving alms to those who came to him."[2] This tradition was continued by his son Shah Pir Muhammad Ashraf who "always remained in straitened circumstances owing to the large sums he spent in charity, which sometimes exceeded his income."[3] Charitable acts on a large scale remained a hallmark of the family as becomes visible when looking at a list of such expenditure for the early 1860s:

Cost of feeding about 7,500 strangers during the year	... Rs.1,500/-
Cost of feeding 7,000 poor per annum	... Rs. 280/-
Cash payments to the poor per annum	... Rs. 270/-
Cost of the razais and blankets to the poor	... Rs. 150/-
Subsistence allowance to 12 darwesh, per annum	... Rs. 223/-
Cost of burying the bodies of strangers	... Rs. 15/-
Cost of pagris [turbans] presented as offering to those who visit the shrine	... Rs. 200/-
Subsistence allowance to persons proceeding on pilgrimage to Mecca for expenses on the road	... Rs. 75/-
Yearly cost of the madrassa for boys	Rs. 125/.[4]

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[1] Interview with Dr.S.Z.H. Jafri, 14 January 1992.

[2] *Wood's Despatch.*

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.* In 1895 the list of charitable expenditure had changed to this:

Pagris and sweetmeats for men of rank		Rs. 27 9 0
Tinning for cook house		Rs. 7 1 9
Fatiha piran		Rs. 112 5 6
Faqirs of Usri and Khwajapur		Rs. 40 8 0
Subscriptions to other mosques		Rs. 6 0 0
Grave clothes for the destitute		Rs. 20 13 0
Mosque expenses, Muharram		Rs. 65 1 6
Maulud sharif	Rs. 140 7 3	Rs. 205 8 9
Taziadari		Rs. 12 0 0
Id expenses		Rs. 16 0 9
Bakr Id expenses		Rs. 54 1 6
Expenses to travellers		Rs. 584 5 9
Expenses of 'urs' of departed pirs		Rs.1665 7 0

The sajjada nashins of the shrine not only gave generously to the poor, they also offered accommodation for those who came as visitors, a public kitchen that was open to all and free education in the attached school. For most of these activities Zamindari Abolition in the early 1950s spelt the final death knell or at the very least a severe curtailment. Money was no longer available in such quantities as to support the shrine and hand out large donations to the public.[1]

The function of the sajjada nashin was to look after all those who came depend on it and that meant spiritual, worldly and financial help. He acted as spiritual guide, confessor, psychiatrist, agony aunt, marriage guidance counsellor, arbitrator, financial and charitable helper. And on top of that he was supposed to intercede with God on his client's behalf. To be successful as a saint the sajjada nashin had to fulfil all these roles which meant that he had to be in constant contact with and approachable to the people.

The Court of the Saint

The saint in his shrine receiving petitioners and followers, accepting their homage and offerings and acting on their behalf resembled the set-up and manoeuverings of a

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Pay of cook house establishment		Rs. 137 8 0
Expenses of cook house:		
For food given to strangers-		
Outside		Rs.1091 12 6
For food cooked inside	Rs. 723 8 6	Rs.1815 5 0.

"Investigation by the Settlement Officer into the liability to assessment of the muafi property known as the Salone endowment", Appendix C, in "Maladministration of the Salone endowment, Rae Bareli district", NWP&O, GAD, List 25A, Serial 34, File 102, Cover 2, UPSA, Lucknow.

[1] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 22-23 August 1992.

worldly court, the court of a ruler or a landed magnate. In Salon the saint was the landed magnate with over 40 villages in his control.[1] Many of the villagers were his spiritual followers and also his tenants, while many of the villages had been named after previous sajjada nashins or other family members.[2] When the people went to the shrine they did not only see the spiritual lord but also the landlord on whom they depended for their financial and worldly well-being. This sentiment of spiritual and worldly power was expressed in the title "King-designate of Salon" by which Shah Na'im 'Ata became apparently known in the early 1920s when he stood among the peasantry and took a stand in the Kisan Movement.[3]

The court of the saint cum landlord was an institution which was very useful to people in authority. Once the sajjada nashins of Salon had acquired some rights in the land, for themselves or in trust for their shrine, they were concerned to support systems of government which guaranteed a continuation of these rights. They had vested interests in, for example, the Mughal Empire and later the Awadh of the Nawabs. Both the emperors Awrangzib and Shah 'Alam had extended their protecting hand over the khanqah, both by granting land to it and Shah 'Alam also through his personal visits.[4] The Nawabs maintained this tradition of visits, Sa'adat Khan, Safdar Jang and Asaf al Dawla

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[1] Jafri, "Landed Properties", Doc. No. 6.

[2] Villages like Atanagar, Karimnagar, Panahnagar, etc.; Jafri, "Landed Properties", p. 420; interview with Dr.S.Z.H. Jafri, 25 January 1992.

[3] *Leader* (Allahabad), 15 January 1921, quoted in: Siddiqi, *Agrarian Unrest*, p. 155.

[4] 'Ata, "Muntakhab-i Sa'id", pp. 114-20; 'Ata, "Shah Mahdi 'Ata's Statement", p. 79; *Wood's Despatch.*

all came to Salon to meet the saints.[1] Nawab Asaf al Dawla visited Shah Pir Karim 'Ata seven times[2] and during these visits the saint entertained the Nawab and his troops.[3] Asaf al Dawla even participated in the 'urs proceedings as the couplet of one qawwali reports:

> This gagar [earthen pot] has sometimes been like a crown on the head of kings,
> even Asaf al Dawla had to put it on his head.[4]

While this on the one hand made the rulers part of those who came to the court of the sajjada nashin on the other hand the rulers' courts tried to reach out to and control the people through the saints. Those in political authority saw the shrine as the centre of the spiritual life of the masses who came from close by and further away, who prayed at the tombs and sought intercession through the sajjada nashin. To increase their hold over the devotees, both Hindus and Muslims, they needed to have the loyalty of the saints. Included in all firmans given by the Mughal emperors to the shrine therefore was a clause that the recipient should "engage himself in praying for the long life of the ever prosperous empire" or "for the welfare of the everlasting empire".[5] This quest for prayer was also emphasized in letters from the Mughal court.[6] It was the rulers desire to tap the local influence of the sajjada nashins and "to deepen the roots of its own authority

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[1] Muhammad Panah 'Ata, *Fakhr al Fuqra*, Ms., 1853, pp. 48, 68; 'Ata, "Shah Mahdi 'Ata's Statement", pp. 79-80; 'Alawi, *Tarikh*, p. 264; H.T. Nizami, "Bargah-i Salon", p. 45; *Wood's Despatch*; *Sayed Mahmud's Memorandum.*

[2] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 5 June 1992.

[3] *Wood's Despatch.*

[4] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 5 June 1992. For the gagar ritual see below.

[5] Jafri, "Landed Properties", Doc.s No.s 1 and 2.

[6] Letters from the sons of the Mughal emperor Shah 'Alam in 'Ata, "Muntakhab-i Sa'id", pp. 114-20.

throughout the kingdom".[1] Nothing can illustrate that better than events in the twentieth century when politicians tried to exploit the influence of the shrine for their own purposes.

> In the 1950s Feroze Gandhi [the husband of Indira Gandhi] made a visit to Rai Bareli the traditional Gandhi constituency. He also came to Salon and visited the shrine. He met Shah Na'im 'Ata in the sama'khana where the sajjada nashin was sitting on paddy grass on the ground. Feroze Gandhi sat down as well and was introduced to Shah Na'im 'Ata. ... Some people, other politicians had come with him to the khanqah. Some of them suggested that it would be very nice if he could send word to the men that mattered in the villages which had once been his to support Congress. As soon as Shah Na'im 'Ata heard this request he was very unhappy and he showed his anger. The people realized that this was not done and one elderly gentleman said: "Sir, please ... [pray] for Feroze Gandhi." And to this Shah Na'im 'Ata agreed.[2]

Similarly in elections of local importance the contesting candidates came to the shrine and asked the sajjada nashin to support them.[3] The sajjada nashin's court was clearly considered to be an important institution in the local landscape.

The sajjada nashins were fully aware of their own position in relation to worldly authority. Until the twentieth century they did not go and visit any worldly ruler's court, but whoever wanted to deal with them had to come to Salon.[4] This tradition began with Shah Pir Muhammad Saloni who turned down - albeit politely - Awrangzib's offer to visit him in Delhi.[5] From then on rulers or functionaries of their courts had to come to the

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[1] Eaton, *Sufis of Bijapur*, p. 218; for a more detailed discussion of this policy see *ibid.*, pp. 218-9.

[2] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 17 November 1991.

[3] Interview with Dr.S.Z.H. Jafri, 25 January 1992.

[4] This is a continuation of the early sufi ideal of non-involvement in politics. See for example A. Ahmed, "The Sufi and the Sultan in Pre-Mughal Muslim India", *Der Islam*, 38 (1962), pp. 142-53.

[5] Jafri, "Landed Properties", pp. 418, 427; *Wood's Despatch.*

court of the sajjada nashins to communicate with them there.[1] This tradition was also maintained under the British who continued to come to the shrine or to act through intermediaries when their business involved the sajjada nashin. Further, whenever a government official came to Salon he either called upon the saint himself or sent a letter to him, as had done before him the Residents of the Awadh court, the Lieutenant-Governors of the NWP or the Governors-General of India.[2] The sajjada nashins of Salon did not seem to have great problems in making the colonial state understand that they would not bow to its conventions and that if any form of communication was desired the representatives of that state had to come to them rather than the other way round. In comparison, the sufis of the shrine in Manikpur were told when petitioning for a similar privilege:

> that their claim [for exemption from personal attendance in Civil Courts] was duly taken into consideration when the list of exemptions was made out in 1863, and having been then disallowed cannot now be admitted.[3]

It was only in the harsher light of the twentieth century that this special position of the sajjada nashins declined.

> When [in 1900] Shah Na'im 'Ata succeeded to office he attempted to obtain the same privileges from the British as his father had held, i.e. exemption from attending court. He went to Nainital [the summer capital] to meet the Governor of UP and asked for these privileges. But they were not granted to him. He was reportedly told: "When you have come all the way to Nainital, then what stops you from going to court?"[4]

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[1] Family tradition has it that Shah Karim 'Ata and Nawab Sa'adat 'Ali Khan exchanged non-pleasantries because of this, but the sajjada nashin did not go to see the Nawab. Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 5 June 1992. For a slight variation of the story see 'Alawi, *Tarikh*, p. 264.

[2] Sleeman, *Journey*, I, p. 237; interview with Dr.S.Z.H. Jafri, 27 January 1992.

[3] OHP, 20 February 1873, Prog.s No.s 528 + 529, IOR.

[4] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 5 June 1992.

Although deprived of the official trappings of elusiveness the way his local community regarded Shah Na'im 'Ata' had not changed. He was held in awe and respect by those around him, and his court continued to be the one which people attended.

Like any other shrine the Khanqah Karimiya shone in its full glory during the days of 'urs. The court of the saint was then populated by thousands of disciples eager to celebrate the occasion and to pay their respects to the present and departed saints. It was the prerogative of every new sajjada nashin to rearrange the 'urs schedule of the khanqah, to introduce a new 'urs for his predecessor and to make this 'urs the focal point of the annual festivities. After Shah Na'im 'Ata had become sajjada nashin he made his father's 'urs the main 'urs. He further combined all other 'urs into one making it a ten day long affair. During the ten days, days two to eight were devoted, in chronological order, to the celebration of a departed sajjada nashin each. On the ninth day the gagar procession[1] was held and on the last day the showing of the relics.[2] At the time of Shah Na'im 'Ata's death in 1966 this 'urs had been reduced to six days, by 1979 to five days and by 1987/8 to four days, the level at which it is currently organised.[3] One of the reasons for the shortening of the main 'urs was that followers were no longer able to take off ten days from work. With Zamindari Abolition the shrine was further squeezed for money and could not afford such a lavish occasion which involved free food for all those attending. Since Shah Na'im 'Ata's reorganisation two further 'urs celebrations of two days each

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[1] See below.

[2] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 5 June 1992; posters advertising the 'urs in 1914 and 1915, Salon Archive.

[3] Posters advertising the main 'urs in 1966, 1968, 1970, 1979, 1987/8 and 1991, Salon Archive. With the theft of the relics of the khanqah on the death of the ninth sajjada nashin their showing on the tenth day could no longer be arranged.

have come into existence but they have not been able to subsume Shah Mahdi 'Ata's 'urs as the main event. For one thing Shah Na'im 'Ata's own 'urs was in Ramazan, a month not convenient for such celebrations and secondly, the dispute over succession after Shah Na'im 'Ata's death did not allow the next sajjada nashin to put the needed emphasis on the event.[1]

The 'urs programme contained a number of different events some of which were standard procedures in most sufi shrines. Apart from mawlud celebrations and Quran recitations which happened in many traditional khanqahs there was sama'. Sessions of music took place everyday. The musical programme in Salon prescribed first songs on the Prophet, then 'Ali, 'Abd al Qadir Gilani, Mu'in al Din Chishti and Nizam al Din Awliya as it was the case in many other Chishti khanqahs. Then songs particular to the sufi lineage of Salon were performed, celebrating Husam al Din Manikpuri, 'Abd al Karim Manikpuri, Pir Muhammad Saloni, Pir Muhammad Ashraf, Shah Mahdi 'Ata and finally Shah Na'im 'Ata. Until the death of Shah Na'im 'Ata the sama' of the 'urs had been repeated in the women's quarters. The zenana court yard had been laid out with rugs and female singers performed under the supervision of the sajjada nashin's wife.[2] The seating arrangement of the main sama' like Takiya Sharif, had the senior male family members and important disciples to the left of the sajjada nashin who resided on his throne, the masnad, while visiting sajjada nashins from other shrines had precedent and were given a place of honour, also on the left, even closer to the presiding sajjada nashin.[3] Sometimes worldly people who had been awarded places of honour did not appreciate their

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[1] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 5 June 1992.

[2] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 16 November 1991.

[3] Personal observation during the main 'Urs, 16-18 November 1991.

symbolism.

> A tahsildar came once during the 'urs [to the shrine] and Shah Na'im 'Ata invited him to sit close to him on the masnad. The tahsildar was a Muslim gentleman who did not realize that he was offered this place out of humility and courtesy and that it was not really his place to sit there. So he sat down on the masnad and leaned back against its pillow while listening to the qawwali. This invited the fury of Shah Na'im 'Ata who told him to get up and get out at once and not to be seen again in the khanqah: "It is the right of the sajjada nashin to lean back on the pillow. This is not the revenue office where you are holding court but my khanqah." The murids executed the order of the sajjada nashin immediately and drove the tahsildar out.[1]

The saint was king in his khanqahdom and could rule as he pleased.

There was the sandal ritual. It consisted of sandalwood paste being poured over the grave of the saints. In designated sama' sessions the sandal was carried on a tray by the sajjada nashin from the place for sama' to the tombs of his ancestors accompanied by the qawwals and disciples. There the sajjada nashin poured it over the grave of the saint who was commemorated.[2] Sandalwood is an important and highly-prized ceremonial and devotional substance used by Hindus in their worship all over India. It is also employed for medicinal purposes. Sandalwood paste is said to be a cooling agent and is used to relieve skin irritations. Some shrines have incorporated the sandalwood paste ritual into their 'urs programme. While in northern India it can be found, in the main, in those shrines with a largely Hindu constituency based in an overwhelmingly Hindu region, it is particularly wide-spread in the south, in Tamilnadu for example. There the sufi saint was essentially seen as a fiery lord and avenger who was the bringer and taker of diseases

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[1] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 16 November 1991.

[2] Personal observation during the main 'Urs, 16 and 18 November 1991.

and whose temper had to be appeased and "cooled".[1]

There was the chadar procession. A relatively recent innovation for the Khanqah Karimiya the village of Khwajapur, at a distance of three to four miles from Salon, has send such a procession each year to the shrine for the last two to three decades. It was made up of qawwals, murids, khalifas and village people who all accompanied the ten chadars which were to be presented to the shrine.[2] The bringing of chadars or other devotional goods destined for the graves of the saints in the form of a procession is a tradition found in many sufi establishments.[3] There is of course a similarity between these local processions bringing cloths for the graves and the annual procession from Egypt to the Ka'ba bringing the new cloth with which the Ka'ba is to be covered. While this comparison might be a grand one, it has to be remembered that for all those who were unable to undertake the pilgrimage to Mecca the pilgrimage to the shrine of their pir had to suffice. There is further a similarity to processions to Hindu places of worship; the procession was a public expression of devotion and adherence to a particular sufi institution.

There was the gagar procession. Gagar means earthenware vessel or cup, the traditional container in which liquids were served. The gagar ritual included a daytime

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[1] S. Bayly, *Saints, Goddesses and Kings: Muslims and Christians in South Indian Society, 1700-1900*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1989, pp. 141-50.
In Bangladesh, too, notions of sufi saints being 'hot' (or 'cold') exist. There "the use of the idiom of heat implies that a Pir is active, in the process of transformation, able to impart change. 'Heat' is often used to connote unstable temperament. Some Pir are known for their anger. This is also true of some shrines." Landell-Mills, "Account of Islamic Holymen", p. 281 fn.8.

[2] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 5 June 1992.

[3] For example H. Einzmann, *Ziarat und Pir-e-Muridi: Golra Sharif, Nurpur Shahan und Pir Baba, Drei Muslimische Wallfahrtstätten in Nordpakistan*, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart, 1988, pp. 21, 56-9.

sama‘ session into which the gagar procession was incorporated. During the music gagars were brought into the assembly and when the audience had reached its peak in terms of spiritual excitement they were distributed to all present. Copying the sajjada nashin everybody stood up and moved in an ordered procession through the shrine complex and the adjacent fair to the well near the ‘idgah. Qawwals sang throughout the event bringing the procession to a halt in regular intervals. At the well water had been filled into big earthenware pots. Sajjada nashin, water pots in front of him, and qawwals sat down with the rest of the audience standing around, then the fatiha was performed. The water from the big pots was distributed into the individual gagars and while on the way to the well these had been carried on the head of the participants they had now to be carried back covered with cloth or hand. Accompanied by music the procession wound its way back to the khanqah where after a further fatiha the cups were distributed to the people as a tabarruk.[1]

The origin of the gagar tradition, according to the family history, can be traced back to the lifetime of Shaikh Husam al Din Manikpuri (d.1449/50). Once he was celebrating the ‘urs in his khanqah in Manikpur. Sama‘ was taking place when the cook came to find the sajjada nashin to tell him that there was no water to cook the food with. When Shaikh Husam al Din heard what had occurred he took up a gagar which was nearby and all the disciples followed him and took into their hands any vessel which they could find. They then all went with the musicians to the Ganges which was a few hundred yards away to get some water. There the vessels were filled with water and the procession returned to the khanqah. This procession ritual proved to be a success with the murids and

[1] Personal observation during main ‘Urs, 17 November 1991.

from then on it was repeated year after year.[1] Shah Pir Muhammad Saloni brought this tradition with him from his pir's shrine in Manikpur, but since Salon was too far away from the Ganges the river had to be replaced with the well near the 'idgah.

There is, of course, also another interpretation possible. A ritual involving the Ganges, the holy river of the Hindus, can be seen as integrating parts of Hindu ceremonial into the 'urs celebrations. The Ganges is considered to be the manifestation of the Hindu goddess Ganga and as such it is possible to install the deity into a water-pot, to take her home and to worship her in that form.[2] Water from the Ganges has special qualities and such a procession to the river must have appealed to the local, overwhelmingly Hindu, population.

Over time in Salon special songs were composed for the gagar procession not in Persian or Urdu but in Awadhi, the local language in which the pir communicated with the masses. These were the songs which were sung outside of the khanqah and were thus those to be listened to and to be understood by the people in general.[3] The gagar

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[1] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 17 November 1991. For a similar description see H.T. Nizami, "Bargah-i Salon", pp. 45-6.

[2] C.J. Fuller, *The Camphor Flame: Popular Hinduism and Society in India*, Viking, Delhi, 1992, p. 59.

[3] The songs sung on the way to the well differed from those performed on the way back. On the way to get the water the text told about a beautiful young woman who went to fetch some water and because she was so pretty the well welled up by itself to help her in her task. Someone comes up to her and asked her: "Who are you that you are so pretty? Are your parents goldsmiths? [I.e. have they moulded you out of gold?]" The young woman replied: "No, they are humans. And I am only a creation of God."

On the way back to the khanqah it is related that Shaikh 'Abd al Karim Manikpuri came once to visit the khanqah of his disciple in Salon. He was pleasantly surprised to see that there were so many followers. And he said to Shah Pir Muhammad Saloni: "You should also come to visit my place and when you come then throw pebbles on my grave so that I may rise. [Pebbles because this is the most romantic way of being woken up. It is the way one wakes up the beloved who is resting in the shadow of a tree in the

procession was for a long time the one occasion on which the sajjada nashin left his khanqah shell and came out into the public space. Until the death of Shah Na'im 'Ata the day of the gagar procession had also been a local holiday on which the schools, the small court and the tahsil offices were closed.[1] The celebrations of the saint took precedence over worldly business.

The court of the sajjada nashins of the Khanqah Karimiya displayed some clear signs of a feudal institution, the saintly court also being the court of a big feudal lord. Over time the sajjada nashins of the shrine had become big landowners and their spiritual supremacy was complemented by temporal powers. The sajjada nashins dressed, of course, like members of the gentry, befitting the chieftains of an estate. They were clad in typical Mughal dress and headgear which continues until today although nowadays it is worn only during the 'urs festivities.[2] There were also paintings in the Mughal miniature style of all the sajjada nashins up to Shah Mahdi 'Ata. A departure from prescribed Islamic practices it seems that the Mughal court influenced this tradition of the khanqah.[3] Close connections between the two courts led to the acceptance by the shrine of status symbols of the Mughals. During the reign of Shah Pir Karim 'Ata, Nawab Asaf al Dawla minted as a favour some silver coins for him which bore on one side the name of Shah Karim 'Ata and on the other the full kalima. These were distributed to each musician at the end of the

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fields...]"

[1] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 24 September 1992.

[2] H.T. Nizami, "Bargah-i Salon", p. 45.

[3] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 22-23 August 1992.

'urs ceremonies.[1] Currency in the name of a sajjada nashin, which had of course no value outside the khanqah, was the sign of a ruler of an independent realm and in this case of a spiritual and a worldly one. In the twentieth century Shah Na'im 'Ata was able to maintain this elite position up to Zamindari Abolition. He lived in the manner of a zamindar, he displayed his position with all the required pomp. He had horses, went hunting and employed musicians who accompanied him on all his travels.[2] When family events were celebrated, like the circumcision ceremony of his successor's eldest sons, the festivities included the whole of Salon. There were singers, dancing girls, fire-works and an elephant on whose silver howdah the sons and Shah Na'im 'Ata sat. But even more significantly, none of those whom the sajjada nashin had recognised as his tenants were allowed to make a present to the boys. Whatever they had spent was returned to them with a couple of rupees extra.[3] Up to Zamindari Abolition the saints lived out the expected role as spiritual and worldly master which their spiritual charisma and their worldly possessions entailed. Over time it had become difficult to separate the feudal from the khanqahi elements. But those who approached the saints of the Khanqah Karimiya approached not only a wali, a friend of God, but also a zamindar, a man in control of land.

The idea of the sajjada nashin as a feudal lord was also expressed through the burial pattern in the Khanqah Karimiya. While in Kakori the sajjada nashins were buried with some of their followers, family or not, around them, in Salon no murid or khalifa was buried near the tombs of the saints. No non-family graves can be found within the khanqah grounds. The nine previous sajjada nashins were buried in three separate

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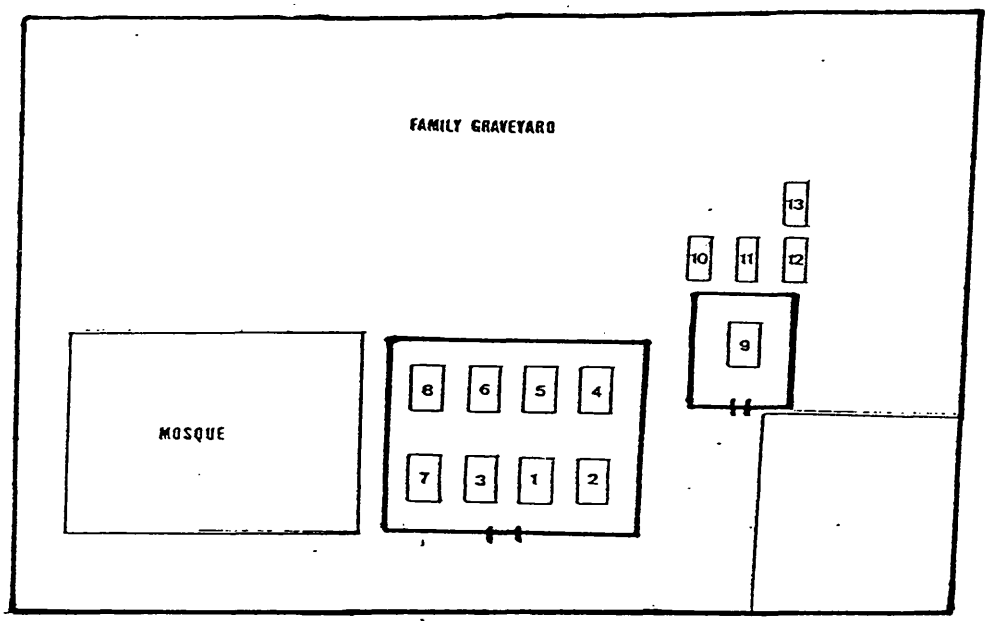
[1] Interviews with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 16 November 1991 and 22-23 August 1992.

[2] Interview with Dr.S.Z.H. Jafri, 25 January 1992.

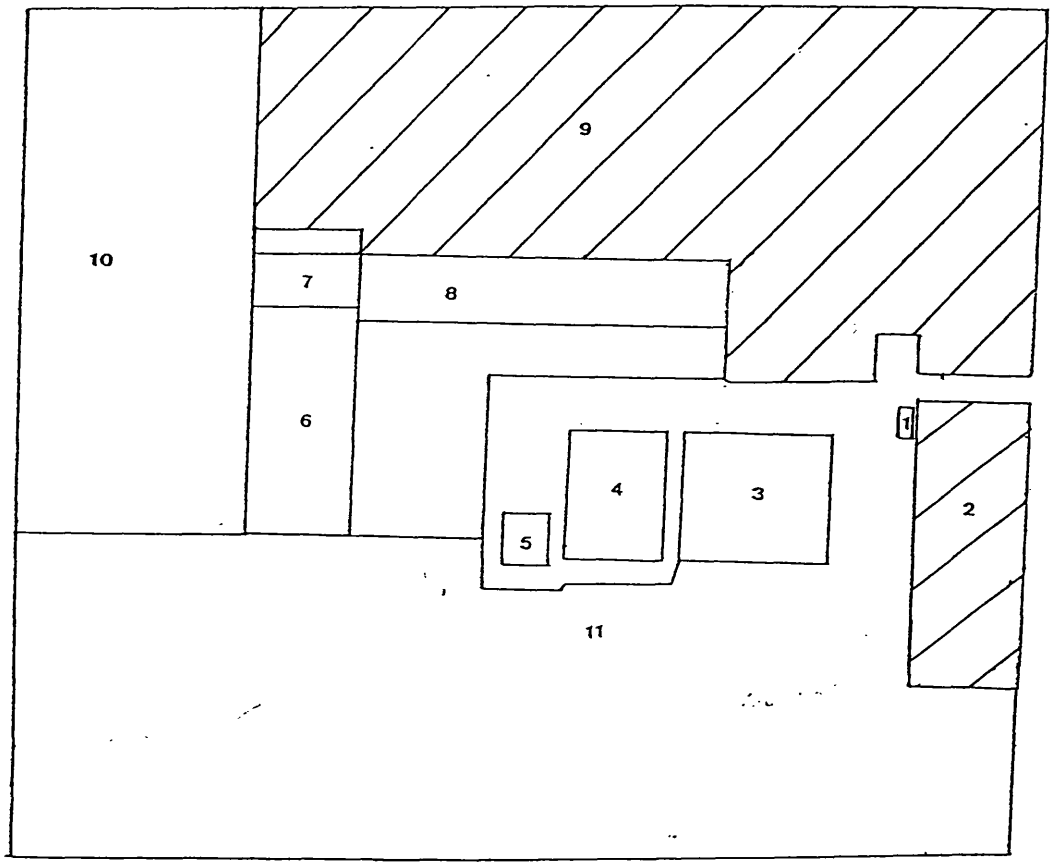
[3] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 20 January 1992.

Map: Rawzah Ashrafi and Tomb of Shah Na'im 'Ata



* 1) Shah Pir Muhammad Saloni
* 2) Shah Pir Muhammad Ashraf
3) Shah Pir 'Ata
* 4) Shah Pir Muhammad Panah
* 5) Shah Muhammad Karim 'Ata
* 6) Shah Muhammad Panah 'Ata
* 7) Shah Muhammad Husain 'Ata
* 8) Shah Muhammad Mahdi 'Ata
* 9) Shah Muhammad Na'im 'Ata
10) Shah Muhammad Husain Ja'fri's sister
11) Shah Muhammad Na'im 'Ata's first wife
12) Shah Muhammad Na'im 'Ata's sister
13) Shah Muhammad Mahdi 'Ata's sister

Map: Khanqah Karimiya



1) Grave of Shah Muhammad Husain Ja'fri'
2) Living quarters of the Ja'fri family
   and the ninth and tenth Sajjada Nashins
3) Mosque
4) Rawzah Ashrafi
5) Tomb of Shah Muhammad Na'im 'Ata
6) Baradari where Sama' is held
7) Audience room of the Sajjada Nashin
8) Rooms for Murids
9) Living quarters of the Faruqis
10) Payin Bagh
11) Family Graveyard

complexes. One, Rawzah Ashrafi, contains the graves of sajjada nashin No.s 1 to 7, and the eldest brother of No. 3. One separately enclosed tomb was for Shah Na'im 'Ata and one separate grave for Shah Muhammad Husain.[1] There is also a family graveyard within the khanqah territory the graves in which number over 300. No follower's standing was high enough for him to be buried within the shrine or near his pir. Some disciples were buried near the chilla khanas of their guides, the majority however in the public graveyard near the 'idgah.[2] Some khalifas had their graves in other parts of Salon: Dilbar Shah, a khalifa of Shah Pir Karim 'Ata, was buried in the courtyard of the mosque named after him in the centre of the town. The graves of three others are to be found on the outskirts of Salon, they have become known as 'Takiyas' and over time they grew into burial places for people associated with the khanqah.[3] The exclusiveness of the sajjada nashin and his family from those who lived around them or followed them, their exalted position as ruling over a spiritual territory and controlling a geographical one was all demonstrated through they way they laid their dead to rest. It was rather like that of medieval European dynasties who buried their family members in vaults or inside churches while the masses who followed them had their graves outside, somewhere else.

Similar to a medieval European fortress the Khanqah Karimiya towered over Salon. Situated on a hill, high walls surrounding at least part of the complex and steep steps leading up to the entrance the khanqah was an imposing construction. The living quarters of the extended family of the sajjada nashin, remains of the old madrasah, khanqah and

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[1] See Maps: 'Rawzah Ashrafi and Tomb of Shah Na'im 'Ata' and 'Khanqah Karimiya, Salon'.

[2] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 22-23 August 1992.

[3] Letter from Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 29 August 1992.

tombs of the dead ancestors were all found in the grounds. There the two separate spiritual centres resided: the court of the living and the dead saints.

Succession and sajjada nashini

Times of succession proved to be crisis points in the history of the Khanqah Karimiya. Since over time the sajjada nashins had received large donations of land and thus had built up a portfolio of villages, fields, gardens, trees and wells as well as numerous buildings within the khanqah complex, within Salon and the surrounding area, a lot of property was at stake at each transferral. On top of that was, of course, the prestige of the office of sajjada nashin, the power it carried in the outside world and the spiritual elevation which it implied. To become sajjada nashin meant to be in possession of spiritual and worldly riches while those around him were dependent on him for hand-outs from at least the latter.

Most of the successions ran smoothly in the shrine. The majority of sajjada nashins were over 25 years of age when they succeeded to spiritual office.[1] The exception was Shah Karim 'Ata who was still a minor. For that reason the management of the estate was for some time undertaken by his uncle until he came of age.[2] Of the nine successions which took place two did not go unchallenged. In both cases unprecedented situations occurred which caused a crisis in the sufi establishment. In both these unprecedented situations the dispute was taken to outside forces for adjudication.

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[1] See Table: Age of Sajjada Nashins on Taking Office.

[2] Letter from Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 25 August 1993.

Table: Age of Sajjada Nashins on Taking Office

Shah Pir Muhammad Ashraf:	20-1
Shah Pir Muhammad Panah:	25-6
Shah Muhammad Karim 'Ata:	16-7
Shah Muhammad Panah 'Ata:	37
Shah Muhammad Husain 'Ata:	28
Shah Muhammad Mahdi 'Ata:	30
Shah Muhammad Na'im 'Ata:	19
Shah Muhammad Husain Ja'fri:	54
Shah Ahmad Husain Ja'fri:	37

The first crisis happened in the nineteenth century with the succession to Shah Karim 'Ata. He was faced for the first time in khanqah history with the possibility of more than one son surviving him and whereas before that one son had automatically been the heir to his father's spiritual position a new mode of succession had to be devised. Hereditary succession by nomination had become the norm in most sufi shrines by that time. Shah Karim 'Ata had three sons and he decided to divide everything equally among them. Not only his property but also the buildings of the shrine, the books, relics, ceremonial dresses and ceremonies: each son was to celebrate one 'urs himself.[1] This will,

[1] Jafri, "Landed Properties", p. 422; interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 16 November 1991.

made in 1823-4, went to the Awadh court for ratification.[1] The court was not impressed and King Nasir al Din Haidar, according to family tradition, requested it to be redrawn in favour of just one son, the eldest son, saying: "There is only one successor in a kingdom and there should only be one successor in a khanqahdom."[2] Since Shah Ashraf 'Ata, Shah Karim 'Ata's eldest son, had also died during that period a number of new deeds were drawn up which ultimately put Shah Panah 'Ata, the second son, in possession of all the properties connected with the endowment and named him as the next sajjada nashin.[3] After the death of Shah Karim 'Ata in 1833, Shah Panah 'Ata collected the statements of respectable people of the area in support of his claim to be sajjada nashin. A dispute however arose between him and his younger brother Shah Ghafur 'Ata together with the eldest brother's son Shah Ahsan 'Ata about the entitlement to the sajjada nashini and the endowment. In 1835 a district administrator of the Awadh court mediated in the dispute and confirmed Shah Panah 'Ata as the sajjada nashin.[4] This was sanctioned by King Nasir al Din Haidar who also included Shah Husain 'Ata as the next sajjada nashin-to-be in the firman.[5] By 1843 Shah Husain 'Ata had already succeeded his father during his father's lifetime and acted until his own death in 1880. Shah Panah 'Ata's position was not affected by this early succession though, people still looked to him as the head of the establishment.[6]

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[1] *Sayed Mahmud's Memorandum*; interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 16 November 1991.

[2] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 16 November 1991.

[3] *Sayed Mahmud's Memorandum*; Jafri, "Landed Properties", p. 422.

[4] *Sayed Mahmud's Memorandum.*

[5] Jafri, "Landed Properties", p. 427.

[6] Sleeman, *Journey*, I, p. 237.

The crisis in the twentieth century arose equally after the shrine was faced with an unprecedented situation. Shah Na'im 'Ata chose as his successor not someone from among his immediate male relatives but his sister's son who officially belonged to a different clan group. Shah Na'im 'Ata himself was without issue and he had adopted his sister's son, Shah Muhammad Husain, 40 days after his birth. He then groomed him and nominated him to be his successor. This succession would obviously have meant the loss of the spiritual office to the Faruqis, a step which some of them did not want to allow. While Shah Na'im 'Ata's two younger half-brothers both died during his lifetime Shah Muhammad Husain found his claim disputed by two of their children. After Shah Na'im 'Ata's death Shah Shabbir 'Ata, the second son of Shah Na'im 'Ata's youngest brother assumed the title of sajjada nashin for himself and was supported by Shah Amin 'Ata, the eldest son of the middle brother. Shah Shabbir 'Ata stated that the title and office of sajjada nashin had become a family possession just like the personal properties and that it should be inherited according to the rules of primogeniture.[1] It was further stated that any nomination for the successorship of the sajjada nashin was restricted to candidates from the male line.[2] Shah Muhammad Husain went to court to establish his rightful claim. The case dragged on for 18 years and during this time Shah Muhammad Husain and after his death in 1979 his son, Shah Ahmad Husain, officiated as sajjada nashins and mutawalli (administrator).[3] Since the principles of succession within the Khanqah Karimiya had been

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[1] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 16 November 1991; interview with Dr.S.Z.H. Jafri, 27 January 1992. If the rules of primogeniture had been followed Shah Amin 'Ata should have claimed the sajjada nashini for himself though.

[2] J.C. Kharbanda, ed., *Allahabad Weekly Cases*, Vol.10 of 1984, Allahabad, 1984, p. 930, Salon Archive.

[3] Secretary to Action [Acting?] Sajjada Nashin, 18 January 1975, UP Sunni Central Board of Waqfs, Waqf File No. 14 (Rai Bareli), Salon Archive; interview with Dr.S.N.H.

enshrined in the Rawaj-i 'Am documents compiled during the first regular settlement of Awadh after annexation[1] the result of the court case was eventually in favour of the nominated successor.

Times of succession were critical periods in the shrine. During both succession crises the sajjada nashins had to appeal to outside help rather than resolve the matter within the sufi establishment. In the nineteenth century the Awadh state was involved partly because of the close connections which existed between the two families but mainly because revenue matters were at stake.[2] The King's assent to the sajjada nashin's decision was necessary since the King was supposed to continue the land grants which supported the establishment. The shrine was dependent on the good will of the rulers and while it received wealth it relinquished some of its sovereignty.[3] In the twentieth century the sajjada nashin looked to a court of law to resolve the problem. With stable rules enshrined as law in the world outside the shrine it was the judicial authority of the court which had the final say.

Before a sajjada nashin could succeed his mentor to office he had to be educated in a number of subjects.[4] The education of the sajjada nashins took place traditionally in

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Jafri, 22-23 August 1992.

[1] Jafri, "Landed Properties", p. 423. Rawaj-i 'Am means common conventions. Here it refers to all the customs used by the different landowning families collected during the first settlement.

[2] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 16 November 1991.

[3] Eaton, *Sufis of Bijapur*, p. 233, and R.M. Eaton, "The Court and the Dargah in the seventeenth century Deccan", *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 10:1 (1973), pp. 50-63.

[4] The development and training of a future sajjada nashin from his birth to the eventual succession as well as his daily routines once he had succeeded have been described in Chapter 2, 'Succession and Sajjada Nashini'. Here only those points are

the shrine. Shah Pir Muhammad Saloni had begun a madrasah education but it was completed at the feet of his sufi shaikh Shah 'Abd al Karim Manikpuri. For many of the sajjada nashins teachers were contracted in,[1] some of them while instructing the future sajjada nashin taught also in the attached madrasah.[2] The ninth sajjada nashin was the first to have received an education outside the khanqah. He went to university, received a law degree and practised as a lawyer in the local revenue courts of Partabgarh and Rai Bareli.[3] The tenth sajjada nashin as well as his chosen successor, Shah Wali Husain, both received a madrasah education before proceeding to university where Shah Wali Husain submitted his Ph.D thesis in Political Science.[4] Traditionally in each generation one family member became a hafiz.[5] Over time the education of the sajjada nashins and with it that of their siblings adapted to changing circumstances. Changes in the twentieth century have made an outside education which does not necessarily imply a secular education, a necessity.

Many of the sajjada nashins were scholars and had also received the education of an 'alim.[6] Hadith scholarship has been an important feature of the shrine. Shahs Panah 'Ata and Na'im 'Ata were particularly involved in it.[7] Shah Na'im 'Ata passed his hadith

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mentioned which are specific to Salon.

[1] See Appendix II.i.

[2] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 22-23 August 1992.

[3] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 16 November 1991.

[4] *Ibid.*; interview with Dr.S.Z.H. Jafri, 4 June 1992.

[5] Interview with Dr.S.Z.H. Jafri, 30 January 1992.

[6] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 22-23 August 1992.

[7] See Chapter 6.

knowledge on to Shah Ahmad Husain whom he also granted a certificate for it.[1] Hadith scholarship although unusual for old-style sufi institutions was deeply rooted in the tradition of the Khanqah Karimiya.

Some of the sajjada nashins of the shrine were authors of books.[2] Shah Muhammad Panah 'Ata is recognised to be the first writer of the khanqah.[3] The sayings of earlier sajjada nashins had been collected[4] as well as their letters[5]. Shah Panah 'Ata, though, was the first dedicated writer who reportedly composed over 65 books.[6] Most of these books were of a scholarly nature but he wrote also some poetry in Arabic, Persian and Hindi.[7] Shahs Husain, Mahdi and Na'im 'Ata all followed in this tradition of producing scholarly books as well as collections of poetry.[8] Shah Na'im 'Ata seemed to have been almost as prolific as his great-grandfather, by 1911 at the age of 30 he had composed 23 separate writings.[9] Among these 23 titles over two thirds were in Arabic an indication of their

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[1] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 22-23 August 1992. Other family members were also involved into hadith scholarship. Shah Hadi 'Ata was a hadith scholar while Shah Halim 'Ata was a Shaikh al Hadith at Nadwat al Ulama in Lucknow. Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 17 November 1991 and with Dr.S.Z.H. Jafri, 30 January 1992.

[2] See Appendix II.ii.

[3] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 17 November 1991. In 'Alawi, *Tarikh*, pp. 262-3, it is mentioned that Shah Pir Muhammad Saloni and Shah Muhammad Panah were also renown for their writings.

[4] Muhammad Panah 'Ata, *Lataif-i Karimi*, Ms., 1856/7, Salon Archive.

[5] *Ashraf al Insha'* quoted in Jafri, "Landed Properties", "Notes and references for App.'B'".

[6] 'Alawi, *Tarikh*, p. 264.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 264-5.

[8] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 5 June 1992.

[9] 'Alawi, *Tarikh*, pp. 268-9.

scholarly content while almost all of the books in Urdu were poetry collections. A relatively small number of all the books produced by the khanqah were in the vernacular, making it clear that they were not aimed at the majority of the murids who frequented the shrine whose education would not have permitted them to read them.

The influence of the sajjada nashin reached into Muslim life of Salon. The shrine was seen as the centre of Muslim life in the town to which Muslims from all the different groupings went. Barelwis, Jama'at-i Islami, Tablighi Jama'at, Shias all frequented the khanqah which stood for catholicity, love for God, love for the Prophet and love for humanity.[1] The sajjada nashin took a lead in the observation and celebration of Islamic rituals like ramazan, mawlud or muharram. Traditionally he had appointed the leader of the prayers at the 'idgah while he himself led the prayers in the khanqah mosque. This tradition only came to an end in the twentieth century.[2]

None of the early sajjada nashins of the khanqah had been on hajj. Shah 'Abd al Karim Manikpuri, the spiritual preceptor of the founding saint, went on hajj on foot seven times. But the sajjada nashins of Salon only began to do so in the twentieth century.[3] Improved systems of transport and a relative security of their possessions made it more possible for people to go to Mecca. An added advantage might have been that the pirs were no longer required to spend every night in the shrine. Shah Muhammad Panah had however undertaken a pilgrimage to the shrine of Mu'in al Din Chishti in Ajmer, the Indian Mecca for followers of the Chishtiya. It is said that when Shah Muhammad Panah came to the dargah at Ajmer the sajjada nashin of that khanqah, Diwan Saiyid Imam al

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[1] Interviews with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 5 June and 22-23 August 1992.

[2] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 22-23 August 1992.

[3] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 5 June 1992.

Din, had been told in a dream by Khwaja Mu'in al Din Chishti to give his sceptre ('asa) to Pir Muhammad Panah.[1] The donation of the sceptre as a tabarruk, a blessed gift, indicated a special relationship between the two shrines and underlined the rank Salon wanted to be considered at in relation to Ajmer and other Chishti shrines.

The most charismatic sajjada nashin over the last 150 years has been Shah Na'im 'Ata. His sajjada nashinship represented a high point of the sufi tradition in Salon, and in many ways also the last golden period of the khanqah. Shah Na'im 'Ata's life was lived as both a powerful landlord concerned about his property and as a sufi deeply embedded in his meditative practices. Consider his involvement in spiritual exercises. For long periods he was either in an exuberant or in a subdued state. When exuberant he was very talkative, he recited is own poetry and was very confident about his own spiritual station.[2] He compared himself to Jawaharlal Nehru:

> "The spiritual station to which I am elevated, to that Nehru has been elevated in worldly matters."[3]

Consider his reliance on God. He was a man thoroughly optimistic with no trace of pessimism in him. He had complete faith in God. Nothing could shake or affect him. All the major events in his life: Independence of India, Partition, migration of many of his family to Pakistan, Zamindari Abolition, these never worried him.[4] He was the embodiment of tawakkul, trust in God. Consider his scant regard for worldly possessions. His personal items were few: a cloth bag for his betelnuts and tobacco, a saucer and an

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[1] 'Alawi, *Tarikh*, p. 263.

[2] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 5 June 1992.

[3] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 17 November 1991.

[4] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 5 June 1992.

earthenware cup from which only he, his successor and his children were allowed to drink.[1] Consider his ascetic tendencies. His food consumption was minimal. During most days he only took a bit of the food prepared for him while the rest was taken away as soon as he had finished and distributed among his followers.[2] Through touching it the food had become blessed by the saint and his followers were keen to absorb the barakat provided in it.[3] Consider also his fondness for qawwali. Troops of qawwals were constantly in the khanqah, and music was played on many occasions. When Shah Na'im 'Ata travelled somewhere by tonga, his musicians accompanied him on other tongas.[4] When his successor's wife was pregnant for the first time he summoned qawwals each evening to sing special songs relating to the coming of the male child.[5] Shah Na'im 'Ata also initiated some decisive change in the shrine. He did away with the rule compelling the sajjada nashin to spend every night in the khanqah. Since he was no longer exempted from appearing before the worldly authorities and he liked moving around, he saw no

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[1] *Ibid.*

[2] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 16 November 1991.

[3] Anything of the saint or touched by him was the carrier of his barakat. Barakat is very often transferred through eating bread touched by him, but also through eating the vomit of the saint or drinking water used by him for either ablutions or bathing. V. Crapanzano, *The Hamadsha: A Study in Moroccan Ethnopsychiatry*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1973, p. 64.
Consider also this incident from Takiya Sharif, Kakori: When the infant sajjada nashin-to-be Shah 'Ali Anwar sat on his great-grandfather's lap he once urinated on him. When someone else scolded him for that the great-grandfather became very angry and said: "This child['s standing] is such that people will consider it a pleasure to gather his urine in their hands." 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 491.

[4] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 17 November 1991.

[5] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 20 January 1992.

necessity for his continuous presence in the shrine.[1] He was also a 'much married man'. Similar to his great-grandfather Shah Panah 'Ata, Shah Na'im 'Ata contracted a number of marriages. He was married twice within the family and its marriage network, his first wife had died. But he also entered into a number of 'extra-marriages' which were contracted on the basis that his wives could seek a divorce whenever the situation no longer suited them. These women came from the surrounding area, they were daughters of disciples or of residents of Salon. It was an honour to have a daughter married into his household.[2] Shah Na'im 'Ata was at the centre-stage of the khanqah of Salon for 66 years. During that time he was able to mould the institution to his liking and to impose his will on it. Believing that he had reached the pinnacle of excellence he began the last poem he ever wrote

"Today I alone am the source of pride of Salon..."[3]

The duties of the sajjada nashin to its clients were practically identical in Kakori and Salon. They were there to counsel the people, to mediate for them with God, to look after their spiritual and worldly well-being. The manner in which the sajjada nashins of the two shrines went about this varied according to the expectations of the constituencies in which they were rooted. Salon's sajjada nashin had also to take the position of a landlord and to behave in ways suitable for that. A dual life was led representing both those stations in life. While Shah Na'im 'Ata had only a few personal possessions, ate only very sparingly and often spent his nights in prayer, he also entertained his visitors in a lavish style, celebrated occasions with all the necessary pomp and travelled around

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[1] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 16 November 1991.

[2] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 5 June 1992.

[3] *Ibid.*

with a considerable entourage. Of course, not all the sajjada nashins had behaved in this way and perhaps because his rule was relatively recent and he was the last in a position to make the most of the landed estate his image is still well-ingrained in everybody's memory.

The Funding of the Shrine

A sufi establishment usually relied on two different ways of obtaining funds. Either it depended on the people who came to it and used its services to make offerings to the saint or his dead ancestors or it depended on revenue-free land which had been granted to the saint or the shrine. Both of these avenues could of course be combined. While Takiya Sharif in Kakori depended mostly on its constituency for its income the Khanqah Karimiya was in control of a large landed estate.

The endowment of the Khanqah Karimiya was one of the largest in southern Awadh. Belonging to the Chishti order which in its early phase condemned donations of immovable property the saints of the shrine at Salon had followed the later development of the order of coming under Mughal patronage and had accepted land grants form those in power.[1] Between 1676 when the first firman from Awrangzib was issued confirming that "according to the deeds issued by the officials 200 bigha of land from the village

[1] See Chapter 2, 'The Funding of the Shrine'. One explanation given by a seventeenth century sufi for the acceptance of land grants was that "by accepting the grant ... cash that otherwise would only fill the central treasury could now be diverted to the people." *Malfuzat-i Shah Sibghat Allah*, compiled by Habib Allah 'Abd al Fattah, Hyderabad: Asafiyah Library, Tasawwuf no. 1420, composed 1606/7; copied 1631/2, fol. 37a, quoted in Eaton, *Sufis of Bijapur*, p. 236.

Mirzapur Bhakhtiyar"[1] had been conferred to Shah Pir Muhammad Saloni, and 1764 during the lifetime of Shah Karim 'Ata the sajjada nashins had received 44 villages, 21 chaks (fields or parts of villages) and 114 bigha and biswa from the Mughals.[2] When asked to prove his title to the land by the British in 1856 the sajjada nashin of the shrine deposited 31 firmans, certificates and royal grants with the authorities.[3] Indeed Salon was one of the few Sunni institutions which escaped having its land grants resumed by the Shia rulers of Awadh. On the contrary it is said that Nawab Asaf al Dawla gave more land to the sajjada nashin.[4] Almost from its conception therefore the shrine had depended on land grants for providing the greater part of its income. So long as these grants were maintained the khanqah was cushioned against financial hardship which the fluctuating income derived solely from offerings would have entailed.

The land which was granted to the khanqah came from different sources. Often local officials or taluqdars made over tracts of land to the sajjada nashins. The motivation for these donations was sometimes other than charitable. It could be that the revenue which was realized from some land fell short of the sum demanded by the authorities and the proprietors transferred the area to the sajjada nashin so that he could turn it into a madad-i ma'ash grant for himself and his successors.[5] At other times the saints were given

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[1] Jafri, "Landed Properties", Doc. No.1.

[2] *Ibid.*, Doc. No.6.

[3] *Wood's Despatch.*

[4] Sleeman, *Journey*, I, pp. 233-4. In the *DG Rai Bareli* (1905), p. 101, Nawab Shuja al Dawla is also mentioned as a donor.

[5] Jafri, "Two Farmans", pp. 303-4, 307-9; Jafri, "Landed Properties", p. 428 and Doc. No.1.

uninhabited forest land and had to clear it and populate it with peasant castes.[1] There were of course also straight forward donations of land in which the donor stipulated how the proceeds were to be used.[2] These grants were made on a local level by influential landowners and officials for religious as well as economic reasons. They were later confirmed by firmans from the Mughals and the Nawabs. Land or villages were also given by the rulers directly, in response to congratulatory letters sent by the sajjada nashins or because news-writers indicated the level of poverty of the saints.[3] Another explanation of why the khanqah at Salon had been favoured by land grants from the Mughal emperors and had accepted them was that it was a Muslim outpost in a Rajput dominated area which was prone to rebellion and against which military expeditions had to be undertaken until the eighteenth century.[4] And similar to the early Suhrawardi saints who lived in places far away from central authority and thus needed to be self-sufficient in times of rebellion or occupation,[5] the Khanqah Karimiya had to be able to survive in a position a bit like a frontier fortress.

It was only in the nineteenth century that the land grants were considered to belong to the sajjada nashin and not to all family members. Until then the property had been

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 420. For a similar development of sufi saints and their followers clearing the forest and settling it with cultivating communities in Bengal, see Eaton, "Mughal religious culture and popular Islam in Bengal", pp. 75-86.

[2] Jafri, "Landed Properties", p. 419.

[3] *Wood's Despatch.*

[4] M. Alam, *The Crisis of Empire in Mughal North India: Awadh and the Punjab, 1707-1748*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1986, p. 117; and M. Alam, "Religion and politics in Awadh society, seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries", in A.L. Dallapiccola and S. Zingel-Avé Lallemant, eds., *Islam and Indian Regions*, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart, 1993, pp. 333-7.

[5] Digby, "The Sufi Shaikh as a Source of Authority", pp. 64-5.

passed on from father to only son and no need for a distinction between shrine and personal possession had arisen. Shah Karim 'Ata being faced with three heirs first divided the property into three equal shares but revoked it later in favour of Shah Panah 'Ata who was also to succeed him as sajjada nashin. In this will he spelt out the new character of the institution in which the lands were seen as waqf being held in trust by the sajjada nashin.[1]

As a consequence of Shah Karim 'Ata's decision property disputes occurred in the family. The first partition of the property was fought for by those otherwise to remain landless. After mediation by the Awadh court the land was split up, Shah Panah 'Ata keeping half of it as the share of the sajjada nashin and the other half being divided between his two brothers and their off-spring. With the arrival of a new political authority in 1856 the sajjada nashin saw a chance to reclaim the property which he had had to give up 20 years earlier. Although land was settled with all three parties the saint succeeded through continuous court battles in retrieving some from his brother and cousins which had originally been part of the endowment.[2]

The annexation of Awadh in 1856 proved to be a critical watershed in the history of the endowment. The sajjada nashin and his relatives were able to use the period of fluidity following annexation to put some of the lands in their own name as personal property. This was helped by the fact that the properties which had been given to them were not situated in only one district but spread over three. Further no coordinated approach was taken on the British side and some villages were released for life, others unconditionally and yet a third set conditionally for the upkeep of the shrine and the

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[1] Jafri, "Landed Properties", p. 422.

[2] *Sayed Mahmud's Memorandum.*

madrasah. Not all were settled with the sajjada nashin but some with his relatives. The villages which were seen as those related to the shrine were 22.[1] This waqf remained the same until Zamindari Abolition in the twentieth century, when the villages were replaced by cash payments from the Indian Government.[2]

Actively managing the endowment was a difficulty for the sajjada nashins. They were often unable to realize the full rent which was due to them from their tenants. By the early nineteenth century the office of mutawalli (administrator) had been merged with that of sajjada nashin[3] and since those spent their life in reclusion they were not able to look after their estate themselves. In the early period the sajjada nashins did not employ any officials for revenue collection. Trusted murids were sent to the villages in regular intervals where they announced in the mosque that they had come to collect the rent due to the khanqah. At the appointed time the murid spread a cloth on the ground the people came forward and gave what they could. No receipts were issued nor was it recorded how much each one had given.[4] This practice changed over time probably for a variety of reasons: the khanqah was more pressed financially, the Nawabs had a greater need for money and the British reformed the revenue system.[5] Then agents were employed to collect the money due and to manage the accounts. These employees were not always

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[1] *Ibid.*

[2] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 16 November 1991.
The amounts fixed in UP were "fantastically low", "it seems that the revenue officers have erred while making calculations". S.K. Rashid, *Wakf Administration in India: A Socio-Legal Study*, Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, 1978, p. 156.

[3] Jafri, "Landed Properties", p. 422.

[4] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 5 June 1992.

[5] *Ibid.*

loyal to the institution and often diverted money to themselves. It was a difficulty acknowledged by the Settlement Officer in 1896:

> As one would expect to find in an institution such as this, where circumstances preclude the sajjada nashin from personally managing his property, the management is not good, ... [The sajjada nashin had] to trust agents almost invariably dishonest, ... [which was not helped by] the loose way in which the finances have always been administered, ...[1]

Saintly generosity was not easily combined with the bureaucratic view of land management.

Apart from the income derived from the endowment[2] the khanqah received offerings from visitors or patrons too. In the mid-nineteenth century the Princes of Bhopal and Sironj reportedly gave large cash donations to the sajjada nashins, in 1849 Sleeman

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[1] "Investigation by the Settlement Officer into the liability to assessment of the muafi property known as the Salone endowment", in "Maladministration of the Salone endowment, Rae Bareli district", NWP&O, GAD, List 25A, Serial 34, File 102, Cover 2, UPSA, Lucknow.

[2] Table: Income of the Shrine from Endowment

1836	Rs.30,000/-	1890	Rs.21,558-5-0
1849	Rs.25,000/-	1891	Rs.22,313-2-0
1860	Rs.26,516-3-0	1892	Rs.20,779-8-6
1884	Rs.17,773-12-9	1893	Rs.20,821-3-3
1886	Rs.19,761-3-0	1894	Rs.20,848-2-3
1887	Rs.20,243-6-6	1895	Rs.21,088-12-3
1888	Rs.21,915-3-3	1953	Rs.18,000/-
1889	Rs.21,853-10-3		

Note: 1836 and 1849 estimates; 1836 income from all sources not only land; 1849 and 1860 income from all properties held; from 1884 onwards income only from waqf properties.

Sources: Butter, *Outlines*, pp. 138-9; Sleeman, *Journey*, I, p. 237; *Wood's Despatch*; *Sayed Mahmud's Memorandum*; "Investigation by the Settlement Officer into the liability to assessment of the muafi property known as the Salone endowment", Appendix C, in "Maladministration of the Salone endowment, Rae Bareli district", NWP&O, GAD, List 25A, Serial 34, File 102, Cover 2, UPSA, Lucknow; interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 16 November 1991.

estimated it as half of the total income of the shrine.[1] Wealthy followers gave also other types of offerings in lieu of money, like gold ornaments which the Raja of Rewa presented to the sajjada nashin.[2] Once these contributions stopped there were no other rich patrons who gave at similar levels. Murids always looked upon the khanqah as a regal and prosperous institution from which they expected lavish hospitality while they offered only a token nazar.[3] Followers were afraid that if they offered too much money the sensibilities of the family were hurt. It would have been seen as condescending and implying that the sajjada nashin was not able to look after the shrine himself.[4] The murids did take note of Zamindari Abolition though and the implications it had for the khanqah. It became more important that people came to the shrine. After Zamindari Abolition Shah Na'im 'Ata spent more time in the khanqah and then streams of visitors, Hindus and Muslims, came to him to pay their respects. Through their offerings he had much more money in his hands - literally - than before. Within two years Shah Na'im 'Ata received as much money through nazar as he had got earlier from the zamindari. A saying of his illustrated his approach to the matter:

> "If one door is closed another is readily opened.
>
> For giving God had thousands of hands."[5]

For a period Shah Na'im 'Ata had to curtail his spending however and many of the activities of the shrine had to be scaled back, for example the public kitchen could no

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[1] Sleeman, *Journey*, I, p. 237.

[2] Interview with Dr.S.Z.H. Jafri, 27 January 1992.

[3] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 22-23 August 1992.

[4] Interview with Dr.S.Z.H. Jafri, 27 January 1992.

[5] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 22-23 August 1992.

longer be maintained and the madrasah was reduced to a maktab.

Murids did not offer to build or repair any buildings for the sajjada nashins. Again the image of the shrine and the family running it had become thus that disciples did not dare to offer.[1] This had not always been the case. A murid of Shah Pir Muhammad Ashraf had built the tomb called Rawzah Ashrafi in which seven of the saints were buried.[2] Disciples only began to contribute to repairs when the sajjada nashin with the funds dedicated to management began to reconstruct various buildings. But there were no large scale donations either.[3]

The income from the waqf was distributed according to the conditions agreed between Shah Mahdi 'Ata and the Deputy Commissioner of Rai Bareli in 1896 which were later incorporated into the scheme of management devised by the Court in Rai Bareli.[4] Two fifths were spent on the upkeep of the shrine, its maintenance, religious functions and salaries of employees. One fifth was for the maintenance of the sajjada nashin and his immediate family. One fifth was for the dependents of the sajjada nashin. And one fifth was earmarked for expenses of management. Control over the 'management-section' is still disputed between the sajjada nashin and the Sunni Waqf Board in

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[1] Interview with Dr.S.Z.H. Jafri, 27 January 1992.

[2] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 17 November 1991.

[3] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 22-23 August 1992.

[4] S.H. Fremantle, Deputy Commissioner, Rai Bareli, to Commissioner, Lucknow Division, 29 September 1896, in "Maladministration of the Salone endowment, Rae Bareli district", NWP&O, GAD, List 25A, Serial 34, File 102, Cover 1, UPSA, Lucknow. Thereafter the shrine was administered according to a scheme devised by the Civil Judge, Rai Bareli, Case No. 1 of 1950 (decided on 31 July 1953), Sunni Central Board of Wakfs vs. Shah Muhammad Na'im 'Ata, sajjada nashin, Salon Archive.

Lucknow.[1] The income derived from the offerings was divided between those made to the sajjada nashin and those made to the tombs. The offerings at the tombs, chadars apart which were redistributed to the murids and visitors, were used by the attendant of the tombs (mujawir) to purchase oil for lamps and other things necessary for the graves.[2] The offerings to the sajjada nashin were used immediately, no money given stayed overnight in the shrine.[3]

Money was distributed on a large scale by the saints. Shah Na'im 'Ata always spent money at the same rate as he received it.[4] Even large sums were dispensed of within hours.

> In the 1910s or 20s the railway came to the southern parts of Awadh. It touched one village in Partabgarh which belonged to the personal property of the sajjada nashin. The government called Shah Na'im 'Ata to Partabgarh so that he could be compensated for the land taken ... He was given a sum of roughly 1,000 silver coins. As soon as the counting of the coins had finished, a Hindu Brahmin approached Shah Na'im 'Ata. He offered his respect, touched his feet and said: "My daughter is to be married next week. I am a Hindu inhabitant of one of your villages." Shah Na'im 'Ata established who the father of the Hindu had been and asked: "What can I do for you?" The Brahmin replied: "My daughter's wedding is next week and I have no money to spend on the girl." So Shah Na'im 'Ata gave him the two bags with silver coins and returned empty-handed to Salon.[5]

On his deathbed Shah Na'im 'Ata distributed all the cash to be found in the shrine and when he died no money was left.[6] Shah Na'im 'Ata maintained the charitable tradition of

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[1] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 22-23 August 1992.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 17 November 1991.

[4] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 20 January 1992.

[5] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 17 November 1991.

[6] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 5 June 1992.

the khanqah and conformed to the early sufi ideals of helping the poor and dispensing money liberally.

For the greater part of its history the fortunes of the shrine depended on the land grants it held. Points of crisis occurred when new political forces came into play and the grants needed to be reconfirmed. The shrine successfully extended its loyalties from the Mughals to the Nawabs of Awadh avoiding resumption of the grants. It also survived the take over by the British although some of the property was diverted from the institution to individual family members. The shrine kept its endowments into independent India when through Zamindari Abolition waqf real estate was replaced by cash payments from the Government. The Khanqah Karimiya was to some extent able to master the transition from relying largely on income from the land to relying on income derived from offerings. The reduction in income not only for the shrine but also for the sajjada nashin's family who were affected by Zamindari Abolition too, was compensated for in parts by the migration of a large part of the family to Pakistan, a country to which money could not be sent from India. Developments outside of the shrine as well as within, the protracted court battle over the office of sajjada nashin which lasted for 18 years and drained resources, have made it necessary for the family of the sajjada nashin and his dependents to look for work outside the shrine and nowadays family members send back parts of their income to support the khanqah in Salon. Flexibility was needed to cope with changing situations otherwise the survival of the shrine was not guaranteed.

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The spiritual tradition of the Khanqah Karimiya was that of the Awadhi

countryside, combining spiritual and feudal authority. As a Muslim outpost in a Rajput dominated area, and thus far from central authority, it needed to be self-sufficient. Almost from its foundation in the seventeenth century it was in receipt of land grants. Its constituency was made up of those who lived around the shrine, Hindu and Muslim peasants and landlords, as well scholars from further afield who were drawn to it because of the scholarship of the founding saint and his successors. Shah Pir Muhammad Saloni belonged to the most indianised of all sufi orders, the Chishtiya, and in its ritual the Khanqah Karimiya made concessions to its overwhelmingly Hindu constituency. The sajjada nashins were seen as landlords as well as spiritual lords; they were patronized by the different ruling Muslim authorities who tried to control the local populace through them. Because the spiritual authority had become connected with worldly possessions, succession to the sajjada nashin did not always run smoothly within the shrine. This was notably so in the twentieth century when a long drawn-out court battle damaged the resources of the khanqah and led to the discontinuation of some ceremonies. The interconnection of spiritual authority and worldly possession also left the shrine particularly susceptible to Zamindari Abolition. In the latter half of the twentieth century the shrine's activities have been scaled down and members of the sajjada nashin's family have migrated to Pakistan.

Chapter 4

Dewa:

A Spiritual Tradition born in the Colonial Era

The Setting

Dewa, situated on the through road from Sitapur to Lucknow, was an old Muslim town of high standing. Having been "in Akbar's day ... the capital of a pargana, and during Nawabi rule ... the head of a chakla or district"[1] it had since 1850 declined in importance. In the second half of the nineteenth century its population remained almost constant at between 3,600 and 3,700 people of which 50 per cent were Muslims.[2]

In earlier times Dewa had been an important centre of Muslim learning. Under Muslim influence since the invasion by Saiyid Salar Mas'ud the qasbah was the home of two important Shaikh families of the area, the Hajjajis and the 'Uthmanis. Among their off-spring and those who came to study in Dewa were many famous ulama and sufis. There was, for instance, Mulla 'Abd al Salam Dewi (d.1629/30), chief mufti of the Mughal army, who popularized the rational sciences (ma'qulat) in Awadh.[3] Or Shah Mina Lucknowi the important Chishti-Nizami saint of the area who was a native of the town.[4] Dewa had for a long time been reputed as a qasbah with traditions of scholarship and

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[1] *DG Bara Banki* (1904), p. 204.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 205.

[3] *Gazetteer of the Province of Oudh*, Vol. I (A-G), Lucknow, 1877, p. 380; Robinson, "Scholarship and mysticism", p. 378.

[4] *DG Bara Banki* (1904), p. 204.

mysticism.

As a town Dewa was divided into five compact and densely populated muhallas two of which belonged to the Shaikh families. The centre of the town was a small hill on which the old fort had stood.[1] In the twentieth century the qasbah has been dominated by the mausoleum of Haji Warith 'Ali Shah[2], a nineteenth century sufi saint of wide-spread fame. His elaborate tomb structure had been erected within the town after his death and was visible from far away to anybody approaching the qasbah.

Religious Affiliation

Before sufis organized themselves into different orders, each of which taught a way of achieving union with God as proscribed by its founder, there were many individual expressions of Islamic mysticism. The early sufis, those who lived in the period before the tenth century, sought a direct experience with God and his reality through a life devoted to contemplation and asceticism. The basic tenets brought forward were humility and submission to the will of God, poverty, and detachment from worldly affairs. The major dividing line between the different sufis was whether they remained within the framework set by the Quran and the law or whether they moved outside it to achieve their aim. Some of the early sufis had pursued the life of a world-renouncer in lonely places while others had travelled widely in search of knowledge and shaikhs who could advance their

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 203.

[2] His name is commonly transcribed as Haji Waris 'Ali Shah.

movement towards God.[1] Their's was a quest for a "personal religion in relation to the expression of religion as a communal matter."[2]

Haji Warith 'Ali Shah (1818/9-1905)[3] had received the initiation, permission and khilafat in both the Chishtiya-Nizamiya and the Qadariya-Razzaqiya from Haji Saiyid Khadim 'Ali Shah (d.1836), his brother-in-law. Khadim 'Ali Shah who had been a student of Shah 'Abd al 'Aziz Muhaddith Dehlawi was the head of a sufi institution in Golaganj, Lucknow.[4] Apart from these two sufi orders Warith 'Ali Shah received no other initiations throughout his life. Indeed, he did not even follow in his brother-in-laws footsteps as sajjada nashin and he propagated neither the Chishtiya nor the Qadariya. He developed his own brand of mysticism which was not tied to any specific tariqa.[5]

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[1] I.M. Lapidus, *A History of Islamic Societies*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge , 1988, pp. 209-15.

[2] Trimingham, *Sufi Orders in Islam*, p. 2.

[3] Most dates relating to his life are debatable and different sources give different dates. Here for reasons of consistency the dates from one source (Mirza Muhammad Ibrahim Beg Shaida, *Sa'i al Harith fi Riyahin al Warith*, Delhi, c. 1938/9) have been used which does not imply, however, that these are the definite ones. The only confirmed date is that of his death in 1905, which makes it surprising that it is given as 1903 in A. Schimmel, *Islam in the Indian Subcontinent*, Brill, Leiden, 1980, p. 42.

[4] Mirza Muhammad Ibrahim Beg Shaida, *Sa'i al Harith fi Riyahin al Warith* [hereafter: Beg, *Al Warith*], Delhi, c. 1938/9, pp. 52, 57; Fazl Husain Siddiqi, *Mishkat-i Haqaniya* [hereafter: Siddiqi, *Mishkat*], reprint, Karachi, c. 1963, p. 17.

[5]This was also stated by the First Additional Judicial Commissioner who set up the "Haji Waris Ali Shah Mausoleum Trust". According to him, Haji Khadim 'Ali Shah

> approved of the doctrines of the Kadiria and Chishtia order of the Sufis, but, ... I hold a strong view that the Saint [Warith 'Ali Shah], although he commended life as a Sufi, so developed the various views which he had acquired during his youth that from the time that he became a great power for religious instruction he must be considered to have created doctrines peculiarly and essentially his own, although those doctrines had emanated largely from the Sufi doctrines which he had assimilated in his youth. His readiness to take disciples of all creeds, his insistence upon nothing else than repentance and complete acceptance of Divine Love, and his

The path followed by Warith 'Ali Shah was similar to that pursued by the early mystics of Islam. He rejected all material goods and physical comforts as well as remaining celibate and giving up all emotional connections with the world.[1] His path evolved into a silsila, the Warthiya, in its own right. Those who became his followers attached the name 'Warthi' to their own name identifying themselves with his ideals and his teachings.[2] This type of labelling is not uncommon in sufism where disciples often place the name of their order after their own name.

The one source of spiritual benefits which Warith 'Ali Shah was indebted to was 'Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet. He is an important sufi personality who has been incorporated in most sufi shijras. Being a Saiyid himself Warith 'Ali Shah was one of the descendants of 'Ali. On his travels he visited 'Ali's grave in Najaf and "his heart was enlightened by benefits and blessings through the kindness of 'Ali."[3] He had been granted "perfection in his spiritual behaviour in the uwaisi manner" from 'Ali.[4] All of Warith 'Ali Shah's spiritual achievements were due to this patronage, according to his biographers, he

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> extraordinary large mindedness are to my mind indications of something more than exceptionally high principles found in a follower of recognized Sufi beliefs. He made a new religion in effect. ... Had the Saint ... been the successor to Haji Khadim Ali Shah it is impossible to suppose that he would have left Lucknow on the death of his master ... and never returned ... One of the duties of a sajjada nishin in a recognized Sufi institution is to perform the death ceremony of his predecessor and to wash the tomb of the founder of the College [khanqah]. The Saint did neither.

Judgement of Mr. Justice Stuart, First Additional Judicial Commissioner, 14 March 1917, in "Haji Waris Ali Shah Mausoleum Trust, Dewa, Barabanki District", NWP&O, GAD, List 25, Serial 30, File 257 of 1917, UPSA, Lucknow.

[1] Siddiqi, *Mishkat*, pp. 29-32.

[2] Beg, *Al Warith*, pp. 246-7, 319.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 99.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 100.

had received no benefits from the pirs of Qadariya or Chishtiya in reaching them.[1] Although being formally affiliated to these orders his relationship was directly with the Prophet's son-in-law. Warith 'Ali Shah circumvented the entire established sufi network and returned to its roots in the early phase of Islam. This allowed him to outflank the great medieval Islamic tradition which stood like a bulwark between him and the 'golden' early Islamic age. This gave him the flexibility to respond in his own way to new problems and new situations.

The Founding Story of the Religious Tradition

Although Haji Warith 'Ali Shah came from a similar ashraf background as the founders of the two other shrines in Kakori and Salon, the message which he developed as a sufi saint was in stark contrast to that of Shah Muhammad Kazim Qalandar Kakorwi and Shah Pir Muhammad Saloni. Warith 'Ali Shah was born in 1818/9 as the only son of the family. Orphaned by the age of three he was brought up first by his (paternal) grandmother and then by his brother-in-law. His education was undertaken by a number of teachers[2] and his command of the Quran and hadith as well as Arabic, Persian and Pushtu impressed many followers later.[3] In his childhood he had become a hafiz within

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 248.

[2] See Appendix III.ii.

[3] Beg, *Al Warith*, p. 224; S. Iftikhar Husain, "A Nineteenth Century Saint (Haji Sayyad Shah Waris Ali)", *Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society*, 3 (1923-24), p. 125.

two years.[1] Warith 'Ali Shah, however, was never a studious person, being more concerned with meditation. People often found him completely drowned in love of God.[2]

The birth of most saints was predicted by prophecies and dreams. Haji Warith 'Ali Shah was no exception. Not only was his coming predicted by his own family but also by important sufi personalities of the region. Shah 'Abd al Razzaq Banswi, Mawlana 'Abd al Rahman Muwahhid Lucknowi and Shah Najat Allah, the guide of Khadim 'Ali Shah, all either prophesied Warith 'Ali Shah's birth or his eminence in later life.[3] Once active as a sufi Warith was accepted and respected by many of his mystic contemporaries both inside and outside India. When Mawlwi Fakhr al Hasan asked his guide Muhammadi Shah, resident of Allahabad, who was a khalifa of Shah Niyaz Ahmad of Bareilly,[4]

> "What do you think of Haji [Warith 'Ali Shah] Sahib?" He answered: "Haji Sahib is a man of God. He has conquered the difficult way of love with patience and determination. And today he has opened the door of love through his grace."[5]

One of the most remarkable features of Haji Warith 'Ali Shah was his desire for travelling. Shortly after the death of his brother-in-law he set out on his first journey to Mecca lasting four years. During this trip he is said to have undertaken three or four hajj. This was followed by two more journeys to Mecca, both taking between four and six

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[1] Siddiqi, *Mishkat*, p. 9; Beg, *Al Warith*, pp. 50-1; Husain, "Nineteenth Century Saint", p. 124.

[2] Beg, *Al Warith*, p. 57; Husain, "Nineteenth Century Saint", pp. 124-5.

[3] Beg, *Al Warith*, pp. 32-8; Siddiqi, *Mishkat*, pp. 15-6.

[4] Shah Niyaz Ahmad (1759/60-1834), a Chishti sufi and founder of the Khanqah Niyaziya in Bareilly (UP), was himself the khalifa of Mawlana Fakhr al Din. See Khaliq Ahmed Nizami, *Tarikh-i Mashaikh-i Chisht*, V, Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli, Delhi, 1984, pp. 279-93.

[5] Beg, *Al Warith*, p. 39.

years and accompanied by a comparable number of hajj.[1] Once in the Middle East Warith 'Ali Shah travelled widely there, visiting all the holy places, for instance, Najaf, Karbala and Jerusalem. He further explored present day Iran and Iraq, Syria, Yemen, parts of Africa (among others Egypt), Afghanistan and Turkey, and even made a foray into Russia and Germany. After returning from his third journey to Arabia he had to promise his followers that he would not leave India again[2]:

> But because travelling was part of his character, therefore he could not stop it. And for his daily pleasure he moved through Awadh and the countries to the west and north.[3]

And in a similar manner he went on frequent trips to Bihar. Warith 'Ali Shah travelled around until six years before his death. In the beginning only on foot and by boat, later on with the help of railways, bullock carts and a palanquin.[4] His constant travelling allowed him not only to sample many different Muslim and some European countries but also, in the second stage, to be close to his followers at home who did not have to go to see Warith since he came to them.

Trust in God and the complete acceptance of and submission to his will were Warith' guiding principles. He never worried where his food would be coming from, nor where he would spend the night. When asked by his followers or servants to do things which were good for his health he did them after a fashion to calm his disciples' anxiety but not for his own well-being. For him it was clear that whatever God wanted from him

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 101, 105, 108; Husain, "Nineteenth Century Saint", pp. 125-6, 127; Siddiqi, *Mishkat*, pp. 21-4. The exact number of hajj which Warith 'Ali Shah performed is unknown.

[2] Beg, *Al Warith*, pp. 111-2.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 113.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 114-5.

would happen regardless of his own doing.[1] When the plague came to Dewa in 1902 Mirza Ibrahim Beg Shaida requested him many times to move out of the basement into the upper part of the house.

> But when ever I said this Warith 'Ali Shah did not accept my request. And he said: "The God who is here he is there also." ... Eventually during this time some hakims and doctors came to kiss his feet. And they said also: "It is better according to the rules of medicine that you stay in the upper part of the house." But Warith gave all the same answer: "That will happen what God has ordered."[2]

For Warith everything was a gift from God whether it was a problem or a happy event.

From very early on Haji Warith 'Ali Shah had had no desire for worldly possessions. In his youth he liberally distributed his own clothes and the pots of his grandmother to the poorer people of his muhalla and with her gold coins he bought sweets and gave those to the other children of the town.[3] At the death ceremonies of his brother-in-law he exchanged the turban (pagri) which had been tied around his head signifying his succession to Khadim 'Ali Shah's position, for four paisa worth of kebab in the bazar.[4] Before setting out on his long journeys:

> he distributed the inheritance of his father among the poor and helpless people of his muhalla [in Dewa]. The zamindari and all the precious books he gave to his relatives. And the documents relating to the property he threw into a pond.[5]

Having got rid of his ancestral possessions he never acquired another house for himself.

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 136-42.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 185-6. Similar Siddiqi, *Mishkat*, p. 27.

[3] Siddiqi, *Mishkat*, p. 14; Beg, *Al Warith*, pp. 48, 130, 210-1; Husain, "Nineteenth Century Saint", p. 124.

[4] Beg, *Al Warith*, pp. 58-61.

[5] Beg, *Al Warith*, p. 63. Similar Husain, "Nineteenth Century Saint", p. 125.

Nor did he build a khanqah.[1] In his own words he stated: "A fakir has no house, all the houses are those of the fakir."[2] He started to dislike touching money when he began to travel. He hated the sight and sound of rupees and "whenever he saw money [before him] he looked the other way."[3] He took nothing on his travels but one black quilt.[4] Whenever somebody wanted to arrange for him to have some luggage to make his trips more comfortable he refused to accept it.[5] Apart from the clothes on his body Warith 'Ali Shah was in himself self-sufficient.

Haji Warith 'Ali Shah's renunciation was on a far larger scale than just worldly possessions. He had completely divorced himself from bodily desires. Food did not mean anything to him; it was only after repeated prompting that he ate something at all. For much of his life, according to his followers, he had eaten only once every three days and fasted the other days.[6] Tastes had lost their meaning to him:

> putting his finger in the Khir (sweet rice boiled in milk) [he] said: "The Dal (lentil soup) is well cooked." And after a few pieces of Pilaw (rice) he said: "The cook is very good. The Kebabs are well made."[7]

For drinking water he depended on the wish of the servant from whom he never requested

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[1] Beg, *Al Warith*, p. 154.

[2] Siddiqi, *Mishkat*, p. 30; Beg, *Al Warith*, p. 156.

[3] Beg, *Al Warith*, p. 211; Husain, "Nineteenth Century Saint", p. 133.

[4] To this was later added one comb and his surma dani for storing the collyrium for his eyes. Beg, *Al Warith*, pp. 66, 118.

[5] Beg, *Al Warith*, p. 83.

[6] Siddiqi, *Mishkat*, pp. 22, 25; Beg, *Al Warith*, pp. 84, 130; Husain, "Nineteenth Century Saint", pp. 125-6, 129.

[7] Beg, *Al Warith*, p. 133.

anything.[1] He never slept on a bed and disliked even the sight of those. He rested only on one side and never used a pillow.[2] Heat, cold or rain were all the same to him.[3] He never noticed the outside conditions. He refused to take any notice of his own illnesses and carried on his routine as usual.[4]

Warith 'Ali Shah did not get married either remaining celibate for his whole life. In his own words he explained: "It is necessary for a fakir that he is not entangled in the love for wife and children." And also: "Woman, property and gold are trouble. Leave them and one is free."[5] His love of God was all consuming and did not allow for any other worldly love. The external expression of all these renunciations was the attire which he wore. During his first hajj he had changed into the ahram, the traditional dress worn on hajj made out of unstitched cloth, and he never changed back into 'normal' clothing.[6] His yellow-coloured ahram[7] told everybody that the wearer had renounced the world, it

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[1] *Ibid*, pp. 128-9.

[2] Husain, "Nineteenth Century Saint", p. 128; Beg, *Al Warith*, pp. 120, 140, 152-4.

[3] Beg, *Al Warith*, pp. 115, 187-8.

[4] Siddiqi, *Mishkat*, pp. 27-8; Beg, *Al Warith*, p. 188; Husain, "Nineteenth Century Saint", p. 133.

[5] Beg, *Al Warith*, p. 157. Similar Husain, "Nineteenth Century Saint", p. 128; Siddiqi, *Mishkat*, p. 32. He was however aware of the consequences of his celibacy: "the effect of celibacy is this that I become angry (have a temper)". Beg, *Al Warith*, p. 98.

[6] Siddiqi, *Mishkat*, pp. 39-41; Husain, "Nineteenth Century Saint", p. 126; Beg, *Al Warith*, pp. 142-5.

[7] The reasons for Warith 'Ali Shah to wear a yellow-coloured dress were manifold. Firstly, yellow was the colour of mud. And the Prophet addressed 'Ali, his son-in-law, as Abu Turab, son of mud. Further, the aim of every lover of God was to annihilate himself in the beloved. Annihilation was achieved at death when everybody turned into dust (mud). Secondly, it was a colour well-liked by the Prophet as reported by a hadith. And thirdly, the Prophet, according to a second hadith, saw Jesus clad in some cloths which were yellow-coloured. And Jesus was accepted as a universal example for renunciation. Warith forbade the wearing of the colours white, black and red.

explained his internal purity and the fact that all relations except for those with God had been cut.[1]

The behaviour and condition of Warith 'Ali Shah seems to have been not too dissimilar from that of Jesus. And indeed to that it has been compared by some of his followers. One Englishman approached Warith in Gorakhpur and

> said: "May I ask what your name had been previously?" Warith 'Ali Shah replied: "The same as now." The Englishman answered: "No. Excuse me, but I know very well that at first your name has been Jesus, the Messiah. And may I remind you of your kindness, please fulfil your promise today. Otherwise the blood of an innocent person will be on your hands." Mister Sharf al Din [Judge and follower of Warith 'Ali Shah] said: "Sir, your speech requires some more details." The Englishman replied: "More than a year ago on the 27 December I dreamt that Jesus embraced me and holding a corner of his chadar he said: "Do not worry. I will give you the same clothes." At that time the Messiah was wearing such dress as he [Warith] is wearing. And his face was such as his is. Since that day I have been waiting that my true Messiah will give me such dress. Today I first saw him at the station. Then there was [still] some doubt [left in me as to whether he was the Messiah]. I came [here] at four o'clock to look at him and when I compared the appearances then the doubt vanished. And I recognised that this is the person who has forgotten to fulfil his promise. And for whom I have been looking for 14 months."[2]

The celibacy of Warith 'Ali Shah was compared with that of Jesus, the fact that Jesus also had not built a house, that he too had never used a pillow but slept with a stone under his head, and that in appearance both Warith and Jesus had shoulder-length hair and that they were always bare headed and bare footed.[3] In his attitude he was compared to Jesus, "like

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Beg, *Al Warith*, pp. 146-9.
Whether yellow (saffron) was also chosen because it was a holy colour of the Hindus and would appeal to them is not known.

[1] Beg, *Al Warith*, p. 142.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 196.

[3] Siddiqi, *Mishkat*, p. 30; Beg, *Al Warith*, pp. 182-3. See also *ibid.*, pp. 148-9, as a general model for complete renunciation.

Christ, who ate with publicans and sinners, he [Warith] took the good and bad alike into his fold."[1] It was said that Warith 'Ali too healed "the sick at a glance or by a touch."[2] He performed even a miracle which looked very much like bringing the dead back to life.[3]

While some saw him as Christ others looked upon him as the Hindu deity Krishna.

> Once Haji Warith 'Ali Shah was very pleased with Thakur Panjom Singh who was a faithful follower. The Thakur expressed his desire to see Lord Krishna. And when Warith 'Ali found him perfect in his love [of God] then he showed himself to Thakur Panjom Singh as Lord Krishna. In this way he directed the faith of Thakur Panjom from Krishna to himself.[4]

For most of his followers, however, he represented a re-incarnation of the early Islamic mystics whose lives had also been dominated by asceticism and absorption in mystical practices. The universality of his appeal was based on the principles which he had adopted and by which he lived. They were expressed in his many sayings. The most basic but all-inclusive was "Love!".[5] One was to love God and through that everybody and everything as being an expression of God. "God is present in every place." And: "A true lover [of God] is he who recognises everything as a manifestation of God."[6] That meant that one should love one's enemies and "if you suffer at the hands of someone then before he feels ashamed you should forgive him."[7] The seeker had to completely suppress his own desires

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[1] Husain, "Nineteenth Century Saint", p. 140.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 141.

[3] Beg, *Al Warith*, p. 92.

[4] Interview with Mr.C.A. Waris, Assistant Secretary of the Haji Waris Ali Shah Mausoleum Trust, 15-17 August 1992.

[5] Beg, *Al Warith*, p. 200.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 313.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 377.

and follow only the desires of his beloved. "Love is the denial of the self."[1] Modesty was also important, "hide your own greatness and never look at the badness of anyone else."[2] But the most important thing was trust in God and the complete submission to his will. "One who has faith in God, him God will help."[3] "Trust in God. If you rely upon him truly, you need not worry about your daily wants."[4] This also meant that one should never complain about anything since the reason for complaint and the complainer both had been created by God. Overwhelming love was the fundamental tenet on which everything was based and "there is no method in love"[5] or formality or arrangement. Everything led to God and Warith 'Ali Shah often stated: "My destination is love."[6] These sayings offered a simple message which could and can be understood by everyone regardless of his personal religion. And just to underline this idea Warith often pointed out: "The same God is to be found in the mosque, the church and the pagoda [temple]."[7]

Family History

Haji Warith 'Ali Shah belonged to a family of Husaini Saiyids coming originally

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 202.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 379.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 209.

[4] Husain, "Nineteenth Century Saint", p. 134.

[5] Siddiqi, *Mishkat*, p. 85; Husain, "Nineteenth Century Saint", p. 134.

[6] Siddiqi, *Mishkat*, p. 28; Beg, *Al Warith*, p. 202.

[7] Husain, "Nineteenth Century Saint", p. 134. Similar Siddiqi, *Mishkat*, p. 89.

from Nishapur in Iran. They left Nishapur after the conquest of Baghdad in 1258 by the Mongols during the reign of Hulagu, one of the Il-Khanid rulers. Two brothers, Saiyid Sharaf al Din Abi Talib[1], who was the ancestor of Warith 'Ali, and Saiyid Muhammad, came to India via Khorasan and Mashhad and settled in qasbah Kintur in Awadh. There the Saiyids stayed for about 400 years taking their name either after the qasbah, Kinturi, or after the house they had built and were living in, Rasulpuri. In 1715 one Saiyid 'Abd al Ahad migrated from Kintur to Dewa establishing one branch of the family there.[2] C. 100 years after the move to Dewa Warith 'Ali Shah was born there.

The family of Warith 'Ali Shah had always prided itself on the fact that they were thorough-bred Saiyids. On the way to the subcontinent, so the story went, they had stopped in Mashhad at the tomb of Imam Riza to pray that their Saiyid-lineage should remain pure even in far off India.[3] They had been successful in that, they never married into a different clan group. Even if that meant that girls were married to boys half their age or that those for whom no partner could be found remained single until they died.[4] Warith 'Ali Shah had often referred to that purity of blood of his family, "My ancestors never married into other families".[5] He himself was the twenty-sixth in line of descent

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[1] Saiyid Sharaf al Din Abi Talib is also referred to as Ashraf al Din Abi Talib or Ashraf Abi Talib.

[2] Siddiqi, *Mishkat*, p. 7; Beg, *Al Warith*, pp. 25-7; Abu al Mas'ud Hashmi Islam al Din Ahmad Faizi, *Faizan-i Warith* [hereafter: Ahmad, *Faizan*], Faizabad, 1989, pp. 38-9; Chawdhri Saiyid 'Ali Muhammad Zaidi, *Bara Banki* [hereafter:Zaidi, *Bara Banki*], Lucknow, 1984, p. 269.

[3] The text actually refers to Khorasan as the place where the tomb of Imam Riza was. Mirza Muhammad Ibrahim Beg Shaida, *Sa'i al Harith fi Riyahin al Warith*, edited by Muhammad 'Inayat Karim Warthi, Lucknow, 1975, p. 10.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 10-1.

[5] Beg, *Al Warith*, p. 27.

from Imam Husain.[1]

After their arrival in Kintur the Saiyids were given a large jagir by Sultan Muhammad Tughluq.[2] They continued to hold land around the qasbah in different forms of tenure until the twentieth century. At the turn of the century they held two-thirds of the village lands of Kintur.[3] Those Saiyids who had settled in Dewa had also acquired land rights, Saiyid Qurban 'Ali, Warith 'Ali Shah's father for instance, was a landowner of considerable wealth.[4]

Many members of the family were scholars or engaged in government service. As Saiyids they were bearers of the religious traditions and knowledge who produced many ulama.[5] Part of the family belonged to the Shia faith[6] and became influential as thinkers and in the Shia seminary of Lucknow. Mufti Saiyid Muhammad Quli Kinturi (1773 or 1775-1844) was a student of Saiyid Dildar 'Ali Nasirabadi (1753-1820) who had taken the lead in the institutionalisation of Shia Islam at the Lucknow court. Kinturi was the author of a number of books staunchly advocating Shia practices including publicly cursing the first two Caliphs.[7] Two of his sons and nephews were involved in the Royal

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 25; Husain, "Nineteenth Century Saint", p. 123.

[2] Zaidi, *Bara Banki*, p. 269.

[3] *DG Bara Banki* (1904), p. 225.

[4] Ahmad, *Faizan*, p. 39; Husain, "Nineteenth Century Saint", p. 123.

[5] Siddiqi, *Mishkat*, p. 6.

[6] Whether they had converted to Shia Islam under the Nawabs of Awadh or whether they had always been shias and only the part of the family in Dewa had been Sunni is not known.

[7] Zaidi, *Bara Banki*, p. 270; Cole, *Shi'ism*, pp. 138, 210, 227, 231.

Shia seminary in Lucknow.[1] Many of the family worked for the British from the early nineteenth century onwards, Muhammad Quli for example, rose to the position of sadr amin at a British court in Meerut.[2] Family members who had worked in the British bureaucracy outside Awadh remained loyal during the 1857 Uprising; many more found jobs in the British administration afterwards.[3] Some family members worked for landlords or the rulers of Indian states. When new qualifications had to be acquired under the British in order to retain the traditional jobs these were obtained.[4] The Kinturi Saiyids were a middle ranking landowning family whose speciality had always been religious scholarship and administrative service.

There were, of course, also sufis among the family members. The grandson of Ashraf al Din Abi Talib, 'Ala al Din 'Ali Buzurg, was a khalifa of Shaikh Nasir al Din Chiragh-i Delhi (1276/7-1356), the last of the great north Indian Chishti saints.[5] And the maternal grandfather of Warith 'Ali Shah, Saiyid Shir 'Ali, lived in the manner of a sufi having received a land grant from the Nawabi government for the upkeep of his khanqah.[6]

Many family members travelled widely in search of knowledge. Apart from Warith 'Ali Shah his father, Saiyid Qurban 'Ali, had left India to complete his education. Qurban

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[1] Cole, *Shi'ism*, p. 207.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 138, 257.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 279, 281; Zaidi, *Bara Banki*, pp. 270-2.

[4] Zaidi, *Bara Banki*, pp. 270-1. Another family member was Justice Karamat Husain (1852-1917), Muhammad Quli Kinturi's grandson. After a good career in India he trained as barrister in England and after his return practised at the High Court in Allahabad where he became a judge. He also lectured law in Aligarh College. In Lucknow he founded a girls college named after him. *Ibid.*, pp. 270-2.

[5] Siddiqi, *Mishkat*, p. 6; Beg, *Al Warith*, p. 26.

[6] Siddiqi, *Mishkat*, p. 6.

'Ali was a very famous hakim of his time and had studied tibb in Baghdad.[1] Muhammad Quli Kinturi, the prominent Shia theologian, had also in his youth moved around widely in an effort to find the best teachers.[2]

The Saiyids of first Kintur and then Dewa had always belonged to the upper levels of society due to their genealogy. Wealth and learning were part of the inheritance bequeathed to Warith 'Ali Shah by his ancestors. Particularly the Shia part of the family prospered during the Nawabi period, but the family mastered the transition to colonial rule with success similar to that of the 'Alawis of Kakori.

The Constituency of the Shrine

> The annual urs at Deva Sharif near Lucknow ... attracts a motley throng of lawyers, doctors, engineers, peasants, labourers and landed aristocracy. A multi-religious mix come not only from India but Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal and distant Iran. For five days and nights they mingle and rub shoulders, united by the common bond of their devotion.[3]

The mix of people who came to see Warith 'Ali Shah while alive did not differ much from that after his death. Those who came to the saint or his grave were either supplicants without an affiliation or murids; Warith 'Ali Shah had never promoted anyone to be a khalifa of his.

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[1] Siddiqi, *Mishkat*, p. 7; Ahmad, *Faizan*, p. 39.

[2] Cole, *Shi'ism*, p. 257.

[3] *Pioneer on Sunday* (Lucknow), 5 April 1992.

The murids were divided into two groups, those who had taken the tahband[1] and those "men [and women] of the world who [had] adopted his doctrine but made no ostensible change in their ways of life."[2] The group which wore the tahband had renounced all this-worldly affairs and connections and followed Warith on the path of asceticism and celibacy. On receiving the tahband they had to adopt certain exercises which often lasted for the rest of their lives and were designed to make them struggle against their self-will and desires and to submit completely to the will of God.[3] This core group of disciples was small in comparison to the wider circle of followers. After Warith's death an association was founded by the murids belonging to this core group and the senior most member was the one who gave out the tahband. In the second half of the twentieth century this tahband-group has decreased further in numbers. Only someone who had no dependents could renounce the world completely. Before Zamindari Abolition this was comparatively easy for members of land-owning families as there was always a manager to look after the affairs of the estate and the rest of the family. Now very few people can afford a total withdrawal from the world which accounts for the small number of those wearing the tahband.[4]

Those who came to Warith 'Ali Shah or his grave were not only Sunni Muslims. Warith 'Ali Shah had also a following among the Shias. Being a Saiyid and a direct

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[1] The tahband is a similar dress to the ahram. It consists of two pieces of unstitched cloth in contrast to just one of the ahram. One part of the tahband is worn wrapped around the hips and lower part of the body while the other is draped over the shoulders or head.

[2] Husain, "Nineteenth Century Saint", p. 137.

[3] Beg, *Al Warith*, pp. 294-311; Husain, "Nineteenth Century Saint", p. 136; Siddiqi, *Mishkat*, pp. 244-8. See also this chapter, 'Ministering to the Constituency'.

[4] Interview with Mr.C.A. Waris, Assistant Secretary of the Haji Waris Ali Shah Mausoleum Trust, 15-17 August 1992.

descendent of Imam Husain he commanded respect within the Shia community. Parts of his family belonged to the Shia faith. He himself had respect for Shia procedures during Muharram connected to the martyrdom of his own ancestor.[1] When his mausoleum was being built an imambara was incorporated in the complex. Shia Muslims were also involved in the running of the Mausoleum Trust after Warith' death.[2]

As in most other sufi shrines in India Hindus made up a large part of the constituency. But Warith 'Ali Shah was also frequented by Sikhs, Parsis, Jews and Christians. He did not differentiate between the followers of different religions and made all of them his murids. He did not expect them to convert to Islam but exhorted them to be more strict in their own ancestral religion.[3] Hindus, of course, made up the bulk of the non-Muslim constituents. They were also involved in the administration of the Trust. Hindu followers were drawn from all walks of life, from sweeper to raja and sanskrit scholar.[4] Over time the number of Hindus coming to the shrine has increased, particularly in the last two decades, indeed to such an extent that it has been found worthwhile to consider publishing an officially recognised 'life of Warith' in Hindi.[5] The number of Jewish, Parsi and Christian disciples was naturally smaller than that of Hindus and

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[1] Siddiqi, *Mishkat*, pp. 110-1; Husain, "Nineteenth Century Saint", p. 129. A further indication is that in the proceedings of the 'urs of Warith 'Ali Shah the reading of the story of the martyrdom at Karbala is incorporated.

[2] Interview with Mr.C.A. Waris, Assistant Secretary of the Haji Waris Ali Shah Mausoleum Trust, 15-17 August 1992.

[3] Husain, "Nineteenth Century Saint", p. 136.

[4] For example Beg, *Al Warith*, pp. 75, 133, 297-8.

[5] Interview with Mr.C.A. Waris, Assistant Secretary of the Haji Waris Ali Shah Mausoleum Trust, 15-17 August 1992. Further, the posters advertising the 'urs and fairs in Dewa are printed also in Hindi to reach the non-Urdu speaking masses.

Muslims.[1] But most of those came from an educated background and belonged to the elite group in their community.[2] His doctrine, the simple and charitable concept: worship God, appealed to members of these religions.

The followers of Warith 'Ali Shah came also from many different professional backgrounds. On his travels Warith 'Ali interacted with everybody, rich and poor alike, and this was reflected in the make-up of his client-body. Peasants and agricultural labourers as well as big and small landlords, artisans and merchants, administrative and military service-class personal, hakims, wakils and scholars, money-lenders and religious leaders, members of the ruling houses of India and other countries, all came under the spell of Haji Warith 'Ali Shah.[3] There was no clearly defined constituency pool which Warith tapped into. Everybody was a potential 'Warthi'. The following which Warith had in the villages clearly outweighed in terms of numbers that of all the other groups. There were consequently fewer members of ruling families among the clientele. The Hindu raja and rani of Jaipur had reputedly become his followers.[4] But the jewel in the crown must have been the Ottoman emperor Sultan 'Abd al Majid I "Warthi".

> One day [during his journey in Turkey] Warith 'Ali Shah had gone to walk in the gardens of the Sultan when he met Sultan 'Abd al Majid Khan. When the Sultan saw the grace of his luminous and godly face he became so attracted [to it] that he took him [Warith] to the Sultan's palace. And he became formally his disciple. After that other members of his family became also his disciples.[5]

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[1] Beg, *Al Warith*, pp. 320-37.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 328-37.

[3] See Appendix III.i.

[4] Beg, *Al Warith*, p. 75.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 104-5.
This story has been told in many books on Warith 'Ali Shah. It is to be found, for

Prince Bismarck on the other hand was less lucky. Warith 'Ali Shah was reportedly Bismarck's guest when he came to Berlin but there is no account of him initiating Bismarck into his order.[1] Parts of Warith 'Ali's constituency were, of course, more influential and vocal than the rest. Landlords and professionals made up a substantial part of his following and were able to shape the legal structure of the cult once Warith 'Ali Shah had died.[2]

The geographical spread of his following was enormous. Warith 'Ali Shah started making disciples in his boyhood and began travelling at the age of 15.[3] His followers were to be found inside as well as outside of India. Traditionally a large part of his constituency lived in Awadh, UP and Bihar, his immediate catchment area.[4] Many were also found in the western half of India which Warith had travelled through on his numerous journeys to the Middle East.[5] But in smaller numbers people were drawn to him from all parts of

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instance, in Siddiqi, *Mishkat*, p. 23, and Husain, "Nineteenth Century Saint", p. 126, and many subsequent works. While the historical correctness of this allegiance is dubious, being the kind of story which might be added to any hagiography, it is important that in a climate of increasing pan-Islamic sentiment the writers of Warith 'Ali Shah's biographies found it expedient to underline his connection with the Ottoman emperor and Caliph. *Mishkat* written around 1918-9 came at a time when the shrunk Ottoman Empire was the only sovereign Muslim country left and Muslim eyes around the world were looking for guidance to the Ottoman Caliph as the last independent representative.

[1] Husain, "Nineteenth Century Saint", p. 127.

[2] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 22-23 August 1992.

[3] Siddiqi, *Mishkat*, pp. 17-21; Beg, *Al Warith*, pp. 61-3, 83; Husain, "Nineteenth Century Saint", p. 125.

[4] Interview with Mr.C.A. Waris, Assistant Secretary of the Haji Waris Ali Shah Mausoleum Trust, 15-17 August 1992.
This is also borne out by the fact that according to the regulations of the Trust advertisements carrying the names of all the voters of the Mausoleum Trust have to be placed only in newspapers in Patna and Lucknow in order to reach the people concerned.

[5] Beg, *Al Warith*, pp. 67-108.

India.[1] Those who came to see him from outside the subcontinent arrived from countries he had traversed. There were, for instance, several men who came from Turkey. And some arrived also from Afghanistan and different Middle Eastern countries.[2] As the mobility of the service class increased within India those who were his murids took their affiliation with them when they moved to far away places. Many began to work in Indian states in central or southern India.[3] These disciple-population movements were increased in the twentieth century. Not only did Partition force followers to take their affiliation with them to Pakistan and later Bangladesh, but members of the service-class went also abroad in order to be educated or to find work taking the silsila Warthiya with them to the Gulf States, the UK, the USA and Canada.[4]

Considerable movements of disciples also took place within India. Zamindari Abolition was a feature in both UP and Bihar, the catchment area of Warith 'Ali. In many cases it meant the shift of large landowners from the countryside to the cities. Many Biharis migrated to Bengal particularly to Calcutta in search for jobs. Since the 1980s Bengalis have made up a substantial number of the followers of the shrine. This is borne out by the fact that nowadays 'urs posters advertising the event are largely sent to Bihar and Calcutta reaching most of the followers.[5] Delhi was the other big city to which

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[1] For example from Madras and Malabar, Beg, *Al Warith*, pp. 298, 329, 332.

[2] Beg, *Al Warith*, pp. 92-3, 299, 330-1, 537-8; Husain, "Nineteenth Century Saint", p. 138.

[3] For example Beg, *Al Warith*, p. 495; Siddiqi, *Mishkat*, pp. 134-6, 154.

[4] Husain, "Nineteenth Century Saint", pp. 138-9; interview with Mr.C.A. Waris, Assistant Secretary of the Haji Waris Ali Shah Mausoleum Trust, 15-17 August 1992; Appendix III.i.

[5] Interview with Mr.C.A. Waris, Assistant Secretary of the Haji Waris Ali Shah Mausoleum Trust, 15-17 August 1992.

followers went. As disciples moved around they propagated their faith in the new environments. And thus introduced people from different areas -not covered by the original travels of Warith 'Ali Shah- to their belief.

It is difficult to define the boundaries of the constituency of Warith 'Ali Shah. People from every background and every area were drawn to his message which he not only preached but lived. It is impossible to estimate the number of murids he had during his lifetime although a cautious estimate put it at 400,000.[1] The figure has been growing ever since.

> [Warith 'Ali Shah] did not invite or persuade any one to enter his order. He was worshipped wherever he went. The extraordinary spell exercised by him not only on the popular mind, but on the rich and the poor, the educated and the uneducated alike, can only be accounted for by the principle that if you would have all the world love you, you must first love all the world.[2]

Making bai'at

The system of making bai'at evolved by Warith 'Ali Shah was somewhat different to that practised at either Kakori or Salon. In Kakori, for instance, the founder of the shrine had been very selective in whom he made murid and had only admitted those who were spiritually most able. Once however connections to certain families had been established members of these families were elevated freely to the level of discipleship. Those coming to the shrine without any prior connection were as a rule not given bai'at

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[1] Husain, "Nineteenth Century Saint", p. 137.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 137.

immediately. The prospective murid was encouraged to get a feel of the institution and of the saint first which, of course, allowed the shaikh to discover more about the murid-candidate too. The making of bai'at was a formal event during which pir and murid offered prayers together and at the end of which the disciple was granted the shijra of the order.[1]

Warith 'Ali Shah placed no such emphasis on selection and formality, he gave bai'at to anybody who asked for it barring only those who had already pledged their allegiance to another saint. This indiscriminate bai'at was based on the concept of tawhid, the oneness or unity of God[2], about which Warith talked very often. He said: "God is present in every place" as well as "a true lover [of God] is he who recognises every thing as a manifestation of God".[3] This belief allowed him to treat everybody in the same way, to overlook the differences within Islam and between Islam and the other religions. To whomever he dealt with he said: "You and I are the same."[4] "As long as a difference exists between you and I for so long the sign (mark) remains and the explanation (interpretation) remains. And when the difference between 'you-ness' and 'I-ness' has

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[1] See Chapter 2, 'Making Bai'at'.

[2] Tawhid is normally associated with the concept of wahdat al shuhud (unity of appearance) developed by ulama and sufis in the thirteenth century. Whereas wahdat al wujud (unity of being) devised by Ibn al 'Arabi (1165-1240) had stated that God was in everything and everywhere and had allowed for the acceptance into the fold of Hindus and Hindu customs, wahdat al shuhud proclaimed that although everything was from God, God was not to be found in everything. Hence a distinction could be drawn between Hindus and Muslims. Here tawhid is not understood in the sense of wahdat al shuhud, it seems to be associated with wahdat al wujud although in Husain, "Nineteenth Century Saint", p. 135, it is stated quite clearly: "He did not believe in the pantheistic doctrine [wahdat al wujud] that all was God, but in its reverse that God was all."

[3] Siddiqi, *Mishkat*, p. 88; Beg, *Al Warith*, p. 313.

[4] Siddiqi, *Mishkat*, p. 86; Husain, "Nineteenth Century Saint", p. 138.

been negated then there will be no signs and no explanation."[1] Having first realized God in himself he then recognised it in every individual.[2]

For this reason he admitted anybody into his silsila: on his way to Unao Warith stayed in a nearby village and "when the villagers heard the news [of his arrival] many of them came to benefit from his love and many came to become his disciples." In Shikohabad "those people who came from the town ... he gave them bai'at."[3] "When the news of the arrival of Warith 'Ali Shah spread then daily people came from nearby places and were entered into the silsila."[4] During

> his first visit to Darbhanga [Bihar], there was such a crush in the house where he was staying that one of the doorways collapsed ... . The initiation [ceremony] occupied the whole day and yet the crowd did not seem to thin.
> ...
> On another occasion, the crowd was so dense at a railway station that no one could pass through, though every one wanted to get to him to be initiated. He looked round and said: "You are all my disciples, go."[5]

Warith 'Ali Shah followed various methods in entering people into his sufi order making only the love of the pir a prerequisite. Mostly he would hold the hand of the prospective disciple and then recite one or two prayers with him. Sometimes he just said: "You are murid."[6] At other times he remarked: "What is the need of bai'at? He had love and affection for me from the first day (of the universe). But if it makes you happy, then

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[1] Beg, *Al Warith*, p. 315.

[2] Husain, "Nineteenth Century Saint", p. 138.

[3] Beg, *Al Warith*, p. 67.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 68.

[5] Husain, "Nineteenth Century Saint", pp. 137-8.

[6] Beg, *Al Warith*, p. 241.

come and hold my hand."[1]

His advice for Hindus on making bai'at was designed to bring them to believe in the oneness of God. Essentially he gave each Hindu three orders: "Do not worship stones. Do not eat haram meat. And recognise the Creator."[2] Sometimes he explained it a little more: "When you worship stones then you will see stones everywhere. And when you recognise the creator then you will observe the lights of God."[3] These three commandments for the Hindus were all that was needed to focus them onto tawhid and to forego the worship of many different gods. He said to them: "Rabb (one name for Allah) and Ram (one of the Hindu gods) are in reality one thing."[4] And also: "If one loves then there is the same grace in mosque and temple."[5]

He also gave special advice on becoming murid to those from the other religious communities. Faizu Shah Sahib Warthi observed Warith 'Ali Shah's way of initiating Jews.

> Once Warith 'Ali Shah was staying in Lucknow when in a horse-drawn carriage a man and a woman arrived holding sweets in their hands. They said to me: "Please tell Haji Sahib Baba that we came from Madras only because we want to become his murids." I went and told Warith: "One Mem[sahib] and one Englishman have come." He replied: "Bring them." I went brought them [to him]. They both kissed his feet and the Memsahib let go of his hand and said: "Make us sinners your disciples." Warith 'Ali Shah made them murids and told them: "Accept this from my mouth and have faith from the heart. As Moses was the prophet and (verbal) messenger of God, so Muhammad is beloved by God and his messenger. Those things which are haram in the Quran and forbidden, leave them. And

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 244-5.

[2] Siddiqi, *Mishkat*, p. 142; Beg, *Al Warith*, p. 320.

[3] Beg, *Al Warith*, p. 328.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 317.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 200.

> those things which are duties, those obey. And never tell lies." Then he gave them a tahband and leave to go.[1]

A more general advice framed for Jews and Christians was "Moses, Christ and Mohammad are all three the prophets of God. If you do not believe in any one of them, do not speak ill of him. Abstain from unlawful things."[2] Many Christians were affected by the love displayed by Warith 'Ali Shah and "their belief in the trinity was changed into believing in the oneness of God."[3] Here is the account of the Viscount of Santa Clara, a Spanish aristocrat, on meeting Warith 'Ali Shah for the first time. Arriving in Dewa he observed:

> I have never seen anything like an Indian village and the Fakirs in yellow robes, so the whole place round was transferred, in my mind, from the world of the senses to a stage above dream-land, where meaning and material objects are transmuted into each other. Leaning on two of his followers, the tall, ascetic figure of Warith Aly Shah appeared. Blue eyes as deep and transparent as the sky; a very high and straight forehead; regular features; a white complexion and a white beard; the innocent and buoyant smile of early youth. I ran up to him quickly with the daring of rapture, and pressed my head on his heart. He folded me in his arms, and said Mahabbat, Mahabbat (This is love, love). (...) He smiled, ... and then uttered some Urdu words which were better than all blessing to me. ... "I and you, there beyond, shall be in the same place." Like a calm sleep after a long strain, these words produced a quiet satisfaction in my heart and mind. It seemed to me that the aim of many yearnings was entirely attained.[4]

The Parsi community, too, had its own sayings on becoming murid. Coming from a background of fire-worship they were related to that. Warith 'Ali Shah advised:

> You have done fire-worship. Now you will face the fire of love which burns all other relations apart from those with God for your whole life. ...

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 329.

[2] Siddiqi, *Mishkat*, p. 142; Husain, "Nineteenth Century Saint", p. 135.

[3] Beg, *Al Warith*, p. 106.

[4] *Ibid.*, Appendix: Letter from Galarza, Viscount of Santa Clara (in English), n.d.

> And affirm this that God is beyond comparison, above every metaphor and symbol. And that he is one. And that he is old.[1]

All the comments made by Warith 'Ali Shah on making anybody murid were related to that person recognising the oneness of God and Warith having recognised it himself was able to look behind the outward expression of the different religions and saw the "unity of aim"[2] in all of them.

For making bai'at a follower did not necessarily have to be present before Warith 'Ali Shah. Those who for various reasons could not come to him or he to them, either because of sickness, old age or distance, wrote to Warith and asked for bai'at in a letter. When presented with one such letter Warith said to his servant: "Write: if 'he loves me then he is my murid'". Another way of making bai'at while far away was in a dream. This was usually confirmed by Warith 'Ali Shah once he was told about it.[3] But the extent of such bai'at in absence went well beyond individual requests.

> ... Qazi Munir 'Alam, manager of the Darbhanga estate, said: "I have achieved the honour of being your disciple but my ancestors are deprived of this precious thing." Warith 'Ali Shah replied: "They are also my murids just like you are." When the Qazi saw this paternal love then he asked: "Those in my family who will be born they, too, should come into the shadow of your love." Warith answered: "Munir 'Alam, everything can happen in love. Well, they [the future generations] will also be murids."[4]

Haji Warith 'Ali Shah made the dead as well as the unborn his disciples. After his death this situation was reversed and the living continued to make bai'at with a dead saint. His barakat had become centred on his tomb and those who wanted to enter his order touched

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 333-4.

[2] *Ibid.*, Appendix: Letter from Galarza, Viscount of Santa Clara (in English), n.d.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 242, 531-2.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 242.

his grave or a chadar which had been on the grave.[1] The making of bai'at was only dependent on love. If a disciple loved his pir then Warith 'Ali Shah saw no real need for any form of external allegiance. The way of the silsila Warthiya was love and as Warith always pointed out: "There is no method in love." And he said: "He who loves me is mine."[2]

Warith 'Ali Shah did not accompany the granting of bai'at with the giving of the shijra to the disciple. According to his own motto: "My destination is love. And in love there is no arrangement.",[3] he placed no emphasis on formality in ceremonies. It was also maintained that Warith had reached his position without the help of the other sufis who belonged to his shijra, and had received the benefits directly from 'Ali, the fourth caliph and son-in-law of the Prophet. Once shijras of his order came into existence, around 1878, they were given only to those who asked for them but not automatically to anyone who entered into the silsila.[4]

Making bai'at took on a wider meaning than it had in either Salon or Kakori. Basing himself solely on the concepts of love and the unity of God Warith 'Ali Shah transcended all religious boundaries as well as boundaries of time and place. His love was all-encompassing and through that he could reach most people. For his followers he was a magnet of love to which they were eternally attracted. "My guide, I know that I have no guide except for you", declared Mr. Salisbury, traffic manager of the Rajputana

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[1] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 22-23 August 1992.

[2] Siddiqi, *Mishkat*, p. 85; Beg, *Al Warith*, pp. 381, 383; Husain, "Nineteenth Century Saint", p. 134.

[3] Beg, *Al Warith*, p. 381. For similar sayings see Siddiqi, *Mishkat*, p. 85.

[4] Beg, *Al Warith*, pp. 246-8. They are however published in many of his biographies.

Railway,

> ... That what my heart wants you have given me. Do excuse my sins. ... I am also one of your sons. I have completely changed. ... My dear father, hear my cry. And kindly help me in the search of the true way.[1]

For bai'at it was not enough to hold the hands of the pir or to kiss his feet, the only condition which was required was love.[2]

Ministering to the Constituency

The basic methods employed by the different sufi saints in looking after their disciples and dealing with their murids' points of anxieties were similar. In order to discover the particular problems their followers were dealing with they relied on direct personal communication and interaction through letters as well as on some more 'sufistic' methods, for instance, the communication through dreams and visions. Warith 'Ali Shah was no exception to this and made use of all these ways of imparting and receiving information. Since one of the duties of the shaikh was "that he fulfils every desire and every need of the murid at all times and that he watches the heart of the disciple to protect him from all doubts and dangers"[3] Warith 'Ali had to stay in close contact with his followers to live up to the expected role.

One way particular to Warith 'Ali Shah for remaining in close proximity with his

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[1] Extract from two letters by Mr. Salisbury, in Haji Awghat Shah Warthi, *Ziyafat al Ahbab*, quoted in Beg, *Al Warith*, p. 336.

[2] Beg, *Al Warith*, pp. 240-1.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 348.

disciples was moving freely among them. In contrast to other sufi saints who resided in their khanqahs Warith 'Ali Shah spent most of his life travelling. On his journeys he stayed with his followers and shared with them their food and homes. He spent no longer than three days in any one place and accepted the hospitality of rich and poor alike.[1] It was his tradition that when he had stayed with one person for a night he would stay with him again whenever he came through that area.[2]

> There are many occasions in which Warith 'Ali Shah was the guest of a poor and ordinary person. And after a while some noble persons and rich people [of the same town] would become his disciples and their request [for Warith to stay in their much better appointed house] was hidden behind the saying "This [poor] house will be difficult for you. Sir, stay in my house." But Warith did not like this ...[3]

Warith found himself saying many times: "I have no relations with anybody rich and powerful or with anybody poor."[4] He had only relations with human beings. During the early years of his travelling Warith 'Ali arrived unannounced at a follower's door.

> The arrival of Warith 'Ali Shah was generally sudden and in daytime and he always went to that room in the zenana which was continuously reserved for him to stay in, ... And after a day or two, or the same day if he desired to go [he would leave]...[5]

After some time he had to change his arrangement though, as more and more people complained that due to his sudden arrival and swift departure they had been deprived of seeing him and talking to him. Aware that he should not disappoint his followers and those who wanted to join the ranks he then began informing the people of his travel

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 115-6.

[2] Siddiqi, *Mishkat*, pp. 42-3.

[3] Beg, *Al Warith*, p. 117; similar Husain, "Nineteenth Century Saint", pp. 128-9.

[4] Beg, *Al Warith*, p. 118.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 119.

arrangements some weeks in advance.[1] Through living close to the people Warith 'Ali Shah was able to go through their ups-and-downs with them and he was aware of the issues which worried them and could respond to them quickly.

Another feature which was particular to Warith was his dislike of praying for people and for dispensing amulets. These were the everyday tasks which the people expected from the saints, but since Warith 'Ali's principle was acceptance of God's will and complete submission to it he felt that those actions were contrary to that tenet. Through praying, cursing or producing amulets the individual saint assumed that his deeds influenced the behaviour of other people while in Warith 'Ali Shah's view the maker of all situations and conditions was God.[2]

> To relate the behaviour of God to someone else implies leaving faith on God. And it means totally negating the reality. ... A fakir should not pray for his friend nor should he curse his enemy. Because friend and foe are only curtains and behind them is God. All work is his. And he is showing himself in everything.[3]

Haji Warith 'Ali instructed his disciples with this clear message: "The one who loves you, do love him. But do not say prayer or curse for any one."[4] And the same principle applied to the various types of amulets which were normally very sought after.[5] Warith 'Ali Shah advised his followers only to have faith in God and to consider all events, whether good or bad, as a present from God. When one loves then everything coming from the beloved (here: God) is seen as a blessing, "the events of comfort and discomfort are only the

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 121.

[2] Siddiqi, *Mishkat*, pp. 28-9.

[3] Beg, *Al Warith*, p. 189.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 189.

[5] Siddiqi, *Mishkat*, p. 29; Beg, *Al Warith*, pp. 190-1.

miracles of the beauty of the attraction of the beloved."[1]

There were two basic instructions which Warith 'Ali Shah gave to all his followers. The first was "love" and the second "whatever might happen do not ask for (desire) anything".[2] These two sayings were designed to reform the follower in his behaviour and outlook and to bring out in him maturity and determination. Warith' aim was to make every disciple struggle against his own baser instincts which otherwise would invariably lead the murid to follow a life of luxury and laziness, to worship all material things and not to care about his fellow human beings. "He who follows the desires of the self, keeps God away", "one who loves this world he will be deprived in the next world", and "this world is the root of all the bad things" were some of his more popular sayings.[3]

> Munnawar Khan ... an important grain dealer of Shikohabad ... had much interest in submitting to Warith 'Ali Shah. ... he was granted bai'at. Warith 'Ali said to him: "Khan Sahib, love for this world reduces human beings to something less than animals. And the love for God raises them to a position of angels." The next day Khan Sahib was again present. And he said: "In the night I had this dream that I was dying. An old woman with dirty and smelly clothes was standing next to me. And someone said: "This is your world." In the morning my first work was this that I transferred all my business to my son and I left it completely. Now tell me what to do." Warith 'Ali Shah told him: "Go to Baghdad Sharif. And in Madain sweep the tomb of Sulaiman Farsi. Without seeking [anything] that what you are given, eat."[4]

There were many different ways in which Warith 'Ali Shah tried to reform his followers. Entitled 'struggles' (mujahadat) they were exactly that; orders given by Warith to his disciples to live their lives in a certain way which involved the conquest of human

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[1] Beg, *Al Warith*, p. 189. Similar Siddiqi, *Mishkat*, p. 28.

[2] Beg, *Al Warith*, p. 254; also Husain, "Nineteenth Century Saint", p. 133.

[3] Beg, *Al Warith*, p. 381.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 68-9.

nature by the will of the individual. The commandments varied according to each individual. Concerning food: to eat only rich food or only simple food, to leave all living food (vegetables and animals), to fast everyday during daytime for the rest of their lives. Concerning prayer: to recite certain prayers 24,400 times a day, to pray throughout the night, to pray all the time. Concerning travelling: never to use a conveyance drawn by animals or men, to travel continuously, to go on hajj every year. Concerning movements: to remain sitting for the rest of their lives, to become a recluse and never to communicate with anyone again except for the pir. Concerning living: not to live in towns or villages, to live in forests, on mountains, in caves. Concerning communications: never to complain about their illnesses, to be silent forever, never to open their eyes again or never to close their eyes again.[1] All these exercises were aimed at freeing the disciple from the desires of the present world.

The murid was not left alone to face the problems of his everyday life or the particular 'struggle' he was involved in. Inside himself he carried a picture of his guide, the figure in whom his love for God was focused on in this world. They were to visualize this face whenever they needed help.[2] That one picture would then stay with them until death and give them a certain psychic security. "One picture is with you here and you will see that picture [also] in the grave. And you will see it on the day of judgement."[3]

There were two other ways in which Warith 'Ali Shah could accommodate his followers and that was through his speech and his eyes. His speech, according to his

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[1] Siddiqi, *Mishkat*, pp. 244-8; Beg, *Al Warith*, pp. 299-310; Husain, "Nineteenth Century Saint", p. 136.

[2] Beg, *Al Warith*, pp. 287-94.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 62-3, similar p. 220; see also Chapter 2, 'Ministering to the Constituency' for a similar reassurance given in Takiya Sharif, Kakori.

followers, had such quality that when he spoke to a crowd everyone in it felt personally addressed and discovered in his words the answer to their specific problem.[1] In a typical sufi manner Warith was also able to address murids who were not physically present but were thinking about him and his sentences spoken in Dewa were heard in distant towns.[2]

His eyes, reportedly, allowed him not only to observe the truth, God, to see "the beauty of his beloved without any hindrances"[3] but also to pass on the seen to those who looked at them. And not only when people looked in his eyes directly were they affected by his recognition of God but also when this process took place through a medium, a picture card for instance. Mr Saiyid Sharf al Din Warthi, barrister and judge at the High Court in Calcutta, witnessed such an incident:

> Thakur Guru Mohan Singh, a wealthy citizen of Bhagalpur [Bihar] was my guest. One day when I returned from the court I noticed that Thakur Sahib was not in his room. When I asked I was told that for the last four hours he had been sitting alone in my bedroom. I went into that room and saw this scene: Thakur Sahib held in his hand one card-sized photograph of Warith 'Ali Shah. The expression of his face had changed and his eyes were full of tears. When I saw him in this condition then I inquired as to the reason for it. He replied in a sad manner: "Brother Sharf al Din, of whom is this photo?" I explained in a few words. Thakur Sahib was very impatient and he pressed the photo to his chest. I said: "Describe the condition of your impatience." He answered: "From the moment when I saw the eyes of this picture from that moment I have had no sense of body, heart, money or religion. For God's sake let me see the real eyes of the person whose picture this is." I said: "Do not worry. At the end of the week you will see the bearer of these eyes." Therefore after court on Friday I took Thakur Sahib to Dewa Sharif. And I presented him before Warith 'Ali Shah and said: "Take him, he is the latest prey of your intoxicated eyes."[4]

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[1] Beg, *Al Warith*, p. 224-5.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 225-6.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 217. In Husain, "Nineteenth Century Saint" they are described as "a centre of attraction ... a magnetic power ... quite irresistible". *Ibid.*, p. 128.

[4] Beg, *Al Warith*, p. 220.

The fact that the oneness of God was visible in Haji Warith 'Ali's eyes was not always the salvation sought by everybody.

> Mister P.S. John, the famous barrister of Bankipur [Bihar] ... had the habit to leave [Bankipur] whenever Warith 'Ali Shah came to Patna. He went to Calcutta without any need. One day Mawlwi Saiyid Fazl Imam Warthi asked him: "Mister John, why do you not meet Warith 'Ali Shah when he comes?" Mister John replied: "I saw that my friend Hakim Mubarak Husain went to him and he looked him in the eyes and he went mad. Now he is roaming around bare-headed and bare-foot. And he is saying: "My name is 'Abd Allah Shah." And many gentlemen have said to me that when they looked into the eyes of Haji Sahib Baba then they understood that the world was a bad thing. And they did not have any interest in any work. Therefore, brother, I do not want to become mad. Whenever he comes then I leave Bankipur. So that through seeing his eyes my life will not become bad."[1]

Ministering to the constituency meant also that Warith 'Ali Shah asserted his influence over his disciples. Whether it were indigenous forces like jinns which tried to claim his murids or external currents like a western lifestyle he established his own predominance over them.[2]

Another way in which Warith looked after his clientele was by freely distributing whatever he possessed and by encouraging others to do the same. He followed the rules of futuh distributing the things presented to him everyday "so that at night his hand is empty and he is the owner of nothing."[3] Whenever he was given a new ahram he put it on and gave away the one he had worn before.[4] Whatever people asked from him that he gave them and mostly more. Mirza Ibrahim Beg experienced the following:

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 219.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 71; interview with Mr.C.A. Waris, Assistant Secretary of the Haji Waris Ali Shah Mausoleum Trust, 15-17 August 1992.

[3] Beg, *Al Warith*, p. 505. Also slightly differently: "he is an incomplete fakir who thinks himself the owner of something". *Ibid.*, p. 365.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 213, 236-7.

> Once when Warith 'Ali Shah stayed in Shikohabad, then in the night some poor ... purdah nashin ladies came to him to kiss his feet. ... At that time Warith was by himself and [only] I was with him. Then he ordered me: "Go outside." When the women went inside the room to visit him then I went to the other side of the house. But Babu Kanhaiya Lal Warthi, wakil in Aligarh, sat outside the room of Warith so that when Warith called me the Babu could report that to me. When the women had come and gone Babu looked into the room and he saw that Warith 'Ali Shah was alone and that he was in a strange condition. At once he called me. When I went to see [him] then there was no cloth on the floor, nor was there a quilt, nor a mattress and neither was Warith wearing his tahband. He was only wearing his loin cloth. With some emotion I said: "What have you done?" He answered: "The women asked and I have given ... ."[1]

Although he himself did not touch any money when he found others who had some with them he made them spent it.[2] He always encouraged people to do charitable deeds.[3] Throughout his life Warith gave things to the poor and destitute keeping nothing back for himself. He said: "He is not a fakir who makes his living from hoarding things."[4]

Warith 'Ali Shah looked after, comforted and advised his clients successfully as the large number of disciples indicates. Even after his own death his tomb continued to help those who came and prayed at it. Through the absolute faith in and love of God which he preached he tried to instill a certain security and stability in the follower's mind. The commitment of pir to disciple and disciple to pir he described as such: "A pir is this who is more kind to the children of his heart than to the children of his flesh" and "a murid is this who prefers to serve his pir to serving his father".[5] In a different light the piri-muridi relationship was like that of a doctor and his patient. The patient who had

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 213.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 212, 489.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 75-6.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 365.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 348.

complete trust in his doctor and followed his instructions was the one who recovered fastest.[1] In the same way the disciple had faith in his guide and the guide cured with kindness and love.

Court of the Saint

Whereas most sufi saints had a court that was stationary Warith 'Ali Shah's was mobile. Where ever he set up camp on his travels he was immediately inundated by people who wanted to put their case before him - just like a government officer on tour. Although he did not receive his supplicants sitting on a masnad in a purpose-built audience hall, he was treated with the same formalities as any other spiritual master.[2] It did not take much to create the right surroundings for the durbar of Haji Warith 'Ali Shah, a cloth spread out on the floor, a quilt and maybe a mattress was all that was needed.[3] While in the beginning of his career he had conducted his meeting sessions and his travels alone, in later life he was accompanied by first one and then two servants who waited on him and helped to arrange the flow of visitors.[4] Sometimes on his travels he had an even larger entourage with him made up of trusted disciples.[5] Although Warith

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 348.

[2] Consider for example: "At every station there was a large gathering of people who had faith on him. Who came to kiss his feet. Many wanted to describe their condition to him and some wanted to become members of the order." Beg, *Al Warith*, p. 531.

[3] Beg, *Al Warith*, p. 213.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 112-3, 531.

[5] For example Siddiqi, *Mishkat*, p. 210; Beg, *Al Warith*, p. 115.

travelled without the traditional trappings of a sufi of his standing, without luggage, on foot and only very late in life in a palanquin, everybody recognised him as "an angel-faced dervish"[1] and "a true picture of God"[2] and thus as the centre of their spiritual attention and as a saviour.

Due to his intense wanderlust he did not settle down in one place until about 1899, six years before his death. Dewa, his home town, to which he had paid many visits became his last resting place in life and death. Whenever he passed through Dewa he stayed in the house of one of his resident disciples until eventually Raja Sarandip Singh Warthi, taluqdar of Ramnagar, built a house for Warith 'Ali Shah to which other core followers added parts. On the spot where that house had been built can the tomb be found today.[3] But although there was no central khanqah, no architectural manifestation of Warith 'Ali Shah's court, there were buildings dedicated to him all over India.

> ... many houses and gardens are honoured with his name as they are called Warithnagar, Warithganj, Warithbagh. And ... many, many villages [in Awadh] have a cell (or room) which was specially constructed by his followers. This is called "resting place of Warith". And many poor people who do not have this possibility to build a [separate] cell, they have given his name to a room in their house.[4]

In this way there were regional manifestations of Warith 'Ali's sway almost on the doorstep of many of his followers. It was not until after his burial that a central structure,

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[1] Beg, *Al Warith*, p. 67.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 70.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 154-55; Husain, "Nineteenth Century Saint", p. 133.

[4] Beg, *Al Warith*, p. 156; similar Siddiqi, *Mishkat*, p. 30. One village on the estate of Mahona was named "Warithganj"; a garden "Warithbagh"; houses "Warith Manzil" and "Hu al Warith". Siddiqi, *Mishkat*, pp. 204-5. The two towns in Bihar, Waris Ali Ganj and Warisnagar, do not seem to be connected to Warith 'Ali Shah.
But not only places were named after him. Parents named their children in his honour Ghulam Warith, 'Abd al Warith, Warith Fatima, Warith Banu. Siddiqi, *Mishkat*, p. 206.

a mausoleum, was erected in Dewa.

A fixed court had been in existence since 1899 when supplicants had come to Dewa to petition their saint there. Only after his death a proper structure resembling the 'court of the dead saint' was created. In the absence of a successor the saint in his grave continued to be the focal point of all activity and attention. "The imposing mausoleum ... said to mirror the architecture of Karbala-e-Mualla, the tomb of Imam Husain in Iraq", an ancestor of Warith 'Ali Shah, was constructed. "The symmetrical, plinth-based structure stands at the centre of a vast quadrangle surrounded by a continuous row of over a hundred rooms which board and lodge pilgrims ...".[1] Although later on further pilgrim accommodation was planned on adjacent plots the original construction placed the saint's grave in the middle and the visitors in their cells around him.[2] Devotees were allowed to spend three days and nights within the beneficial reach of Warith 'Ali Shah, five during 'urs times, then they had to move out of the tomb complex. Other parts of the rectangular structure were occupied by offices of the Haji Waris Ali Shah Mausoleum Trust and the Haji Waris Ali Shah Disciple's Association. There was also a mosque and an imambara. Central to them all was Warith 'Ali Shah in his grave.

The grave was approached as respectfully as the living saint had been and it fulfilled the same functions: bai'at was taken from the grave, problems were told to the grave, people made vows at the grave. Warith 'Ali Shah's role continued to be same:

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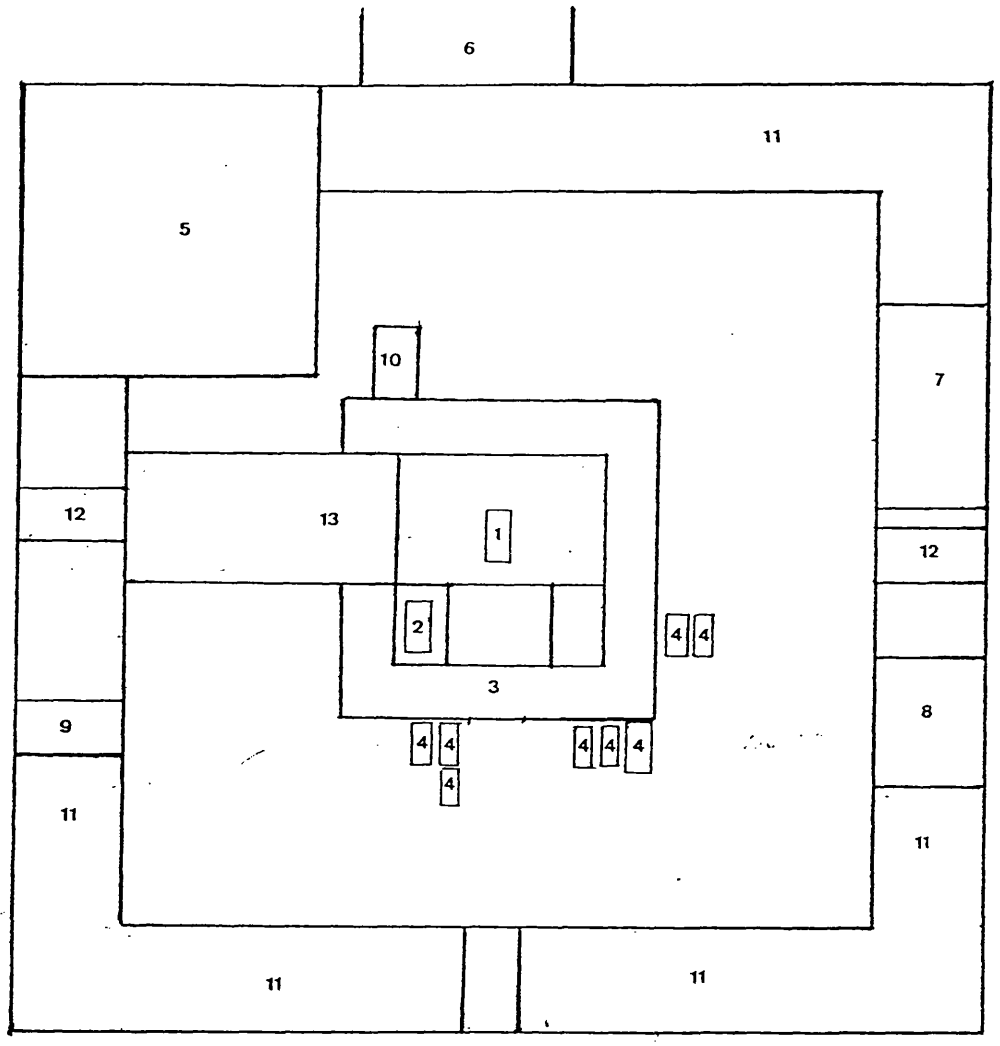
[1] *Pioneer on Sunday* (Lucknow), 5 April 1992.

[2] See Map: Mausoleum of Haji Warith 'Ali Shah.



1) Grave of Haji Warith 'Ali Shah
2) Grave of Saiyid Ibrahim Shah
3) Dargah of Haji Warith 'Ali Shah
4) Graves
5) Mosque
6) Langar Khana
7) Imambara
8) Haji Waris Ali Shah Trust Committee
9) Haji Waris Ali Shah's Disciple Association
10) Watertank
11) Rooms
12) Side gates
13) Sama'khana

> ... Warith 'Ali Shah is a soul who is close to God. So close in fact that God does not deny him anything if he wants to have something done. So he can mediate for the normal people whose souls are not so close to God.[1]

His court was not only seen as beneficial for the living but also for the dead. Apart from his own grave there were nine other graves to be found within the shrine complex. While Saiyid Ibrahim Shah, his sister's grandson, was buried within the central mausoleum but in a peripheral position due to the role he played after Warith 'Ali Shah's death and due to his family relationship, the other graves were located outside the tomb structure. Most of them were important residents of Dewa who had sought the benefits of being buried close to a source of spiritual power. They had not necessarily been high-ranking followers of Warith. Since c. 1940 no more people were allowed to be buried inside the complex.[2]

There were two important occasions on which the followers of Warith 'Ali Shah flocked in their thousands to Dewa, one was the 'urs of Warith 'Ali Shah himself and one was the 'urs of his father. The 'urs of his father had been established by Warith 'Ali Shah himself. It was traditional that his followers came to Dewa for this event. It was called Mela Katik named after the Hindu month in which it took place. This month, which corresponded roughly to October, was in between the rainy season and the cold period. It was traditionally the month in which there was not much work for the peasantry being between the harvesting and sowing of two crops. To enable as many people as possible to attend the function Warith 'Ali Shah had chosen this month and linked the date to the Hindu calendar ensuring thus that it would take place every year around roughly the same time and not wander through all seasons as a correlation to the Islamic calendar would

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[1] Interview with Mr.C.A. Waris, Assistant Secretary of the Haji Waris Ali Shah Mausoleum Trust, 15-17 August 1992.

[2] *Ibid.* One of the graves is that of Ni'mat Allah Shah, a tahband wearing fakir. Another one is that of the grandfather of Mr.C.A. Waris.

have meant. Warith 'Ali Shah's own 'urs took place around the beginning of the month of Safar on the actual day of his death. It was, however, a smaller affair.[1]

The events which took place during both celebrations were in a large part similar. There were mawlud ceremonies, qawwali, fireworks, chadar and ahram processions as well as recitations of poetry in praise of Haji Warith 'Ali Shah. The 'urs in Safar included further a gagar procession while the Mela Katik contained a sihra procession in which a garland similar to those worn by an Indian bride and bridegroom on their wedding day was brought and offered to the grave. During both festivities there was an all-night sama' session during which at 4.13 am, the exact time on which Warith 'Ali Shah had died, his qul took place. At 3 pm the following day his grave was washed, a cover for it as well as 'itr and sandal offered. During the 'urs in Safar there was a further gatherings on the morning of Haji Warith 'Ali Shah's death in which the story of the martyrdom of Imam Husain at Karbala was told.[2] These ceremonies draw on customs of the main constituency groups of the shrine, Sunnis, Shias and Hindus. Both occasions were accompanied by big fairs situated outside of Dewa, the Mela Katik also featured an agricultural exhibition introduced in the 1920s by the British.[3]

The programme of both events has changed over time. Earlier on there were not so many items on the agenda. Added were more sama' sessions, the recitation of poetry

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[1] Interview with Mr.C.A. Waris, Assistant Secretary of the Haji Waris Ali Shah Mausoleum Trust, 15-17 August 1992.

[2] *Ibid*; posters announcing the Mela Katik and the 'urs in Safar. A similar albeit smaller celebration of Warith 'Ali Shah's death took place on the first day of every lunar month. Qul was performed during the night and on the following afternoon while in the morning another commemoration of the martyrdom at Karbala took place.

[3] Zaidi, *Bara Banki*, p. 182; interview with Mr.C.A. Waris, Assistant Secretary of the Haji Waris Ali Shah Mausoleum Trust, 15-17 August 1992.

in praise of Warith 'Ali Shah, the narration of religious experiences involving him and a lecture in his honour. The original 'urs programme consisted of Haji Warith 'Ali Shah's qul at 4.13 am, in the morning the gathering to tell the story of the martyrdom of Imam Husain, the next qul in the afternoon with the attending feature of the washing of the grave and the sama' on that day. The additions came relatively recently over the last two decades. As more people came to the court of the saint there needed to be more attractions to occupy them. The changes in the 'urs programme were made by the Committee running the Haji Waris Ali Shah Mausoleum Trust.[1]

While both events the Mela Katik and the 'urs in Safar were organised by official bodies, the different functions of the Mela Katik were looked after by the Mausoleum Trust Committee, the Dewa Town Area Committee and the District Magistrate, it was the grave of Warith 'Ali Shah which presided over the sama' sessions in the mausoleum complex.[2] There was no living representative or successor to the saint who could have rivalled or taken precedent over the saint in the grave. The office-bearers present on these occasions managed the affairs only, they did not preside over them.

Succession and sajjada nashini

Mystics living in the early period of Islam understood sufism as a personal venture aimed at achieving a direct experience of God. They acted as guides to similar experiences

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[1] Interview with Mr.C.A. Waris, Assistant Secretary of the Haji Waris Ali Shah Mausoleum Trust, 15-17 August 1992.

[2] *Ibid.*

for other people but they were not concerned to found a school or a mystical chain "designed to perpetuate ... [their own] name, type of teaching, mystical exercises, and rule of life."[1] This happened only later around the thirteenth century from when on seekers of God were linked to their teacher through a pledge of allegiance and individual sufi orders came into existence.

> The earlier groups [of mystics] had been linked by enthusiasm, common devotions, and methods of spiritual discipline, with the aim of stripping the soul and eliminating the self to attain vision of Reality. They were, ..., integrated by spirit and aim rather than by any formal organization, and were, ..., very loose organizations. ... [The later groups, however,] ascribed themselves to their initiator and spiritual ancestry, and were prepared to follow his Path and transmit it themselves to future generations.[2]

With formal allegiance came also formal succession, the sufi shaikh was only one link in a larger chain; having benefitted from the instruction and guidance of his spiritual forbearers he himself passed it on to those worthy of succeeding him.

Warith 'Ali Shah departed from this by then well established system in which succession had largely become hereditary and declared: "My destination is love. Whoever claims a right to succession he is a liar. In my faith anyone, be he a sweeper or a shoemaker, if he loves me, he is mine."[3] Many times he phrased it differently stating: "My destination is love, and in love there is no arrangement. ... My law is love, and in love there is no khilafat and janashin. ... My destination is love, and there is no arrangement for khilafat or janashini in love. He who loves me is mine."[4] Having himself, according to his biographers, received his spiritual gifts directly from God and from 'Ali, the son-in-

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[1] Trimingham, *Sufi Orders in Islam*, p. 10.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

[3] Beg, *Al Warith*, p. 386, also p. 384; Siddiqi, *Mishkat*, p. 249.

[4] Beg, *Al Warith*, p. 381; similar Siddiqi, *Mishkat*, p. 85.

law of the Prophet, he was not carrying forward teachings acquired from another shaikh.[1] This was also expressed through the fact he did not distribute any shijras of his order until late in his life and then only on the instigation of some disciples. "The murids," it was said, "related only with one person [Warith]. And they never asked for a shijra."[2] He had been initiated into both the Qadariya and the Chishtiya in his youth but had not bowed to their conventions and developed his own way.[3]

Even during his lifetime in spite of his sayings not all of Warith 'Ali Shah's followers wanted to accept the prohibition of a succession. Some individuals claimed that they had been made his khalifa and would thus be his successors.[4] Another group maintained that they had been deputed to look after Warith 'Ali's grave once he had died.[5]

> When one news (rumour) after the other reached Warith 'Ali Shah then he disliked the selfishness of his disciples and he said to Qazi Bakhshish 'Ali Sahib: "Bring paper, pen and ink." Qazi Sahib came at once with the writing materials and Warith said: "Write: My destination is love. The person who claims the right of succession he is a liar. ..."[6]

And apart from distributing copies of this order to some of his more articulate followers, Justice Saiyid Sharf al Din for instance, he also ordered: "If some Englishman asks for it [a copy] then give it to him."[7] Warith 'Ali Shah clearly expected some wrangle after his

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[1] Beg, *Al Warith*, pp. 97, 99, 248. Consider also Warith 'Ali Shah's pronouncements against accepting benefits from others: "He is a man who spends his earnings on others. He is not a man who takes benefit from others." And: "The lion eats his own prey. He will not even smell at the prey of others." *Ibid.*, p.96.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 247.

[3] See this chapter, 'Religious Affiliation'.

[4] Beg, *Al Warith*, pp. 382, 384; Ahmad, *Faizan*, p. 58.

[5] Beg, *Al Warith*, pp. 382-4.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 384.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 385; similar Siddiqi, *Mishkat*, p. 249.

death between groups of relatives and disciples with interests at stake. An Englishman, most probably a government officer, would not claim succession and was expected to be impartial.

There was one person though who was seen by many from among the disciples and from outside as the legitimate successor and sajjada nashin after Warith 'Ali Shah's death.[1] That was his sister's daughter's son, Saiyid Ibrahim Shah, honorary magistrate and wakil at the court in Rampur, the nearest living relative he had. Supporters of Saiyid Ibrahim claimed (and claim) that he had been made khalifa and janashin by Warith 'Ali Shah and that it was his right to take over.[2] In fact, after Haji Warith 'Ali's death Saiyid Ibrahim Shah began to act as sajjada nashin, albeit as part of an informal committee which supervised the building of the mausoleum.[3] So far he has had three successors each of whom claimed to be the sajjada nashin of Warith 'Ali Shah.[4] Their faction was supported by some of the disciples of Warith 'Ali Shah.

A legal challenge to an official sajjada nashin could not be mounted until the death of Saiyid Ibrahim in 1915. After him there was no immediate family of Warith 'Ali Shah left and the Dargah Warsi Association, made up of old disciples, went to court to have the

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[1] Beg, *Al Warith*, p. 408; 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, p. 883.

[2] Ahmad, *Faizan*, pp. 85-87. See also Hakim Muhammad Safdar 'Ali Warthi, *Jalwah-i Warith*, 1931, a book written by a relative of Warith 'Ali Shah which is dedicated to defending the principle of sajjada nashini and which sets out to prove the validity of Saiyid Muhammad Ibrahim's succession.

[3] Husain, "Nineteenth Century Saint", p. 143; Beg, *Al Warith*, pp. 408-9; interview with Mr.C.A. Waris, Assistant Secretary of the Haji Waris Ali Shah Mausoleum Trust, 15-17 August 1992.

[4] Ahmad, *Faizan*, pp. 90-1. They call themselves as sajjada nashin of Astana Dada Miyan, i.e. of the abode of the grandfather.

mausoleum declared as public waqf.[1] On appeal in 1917 the Judicial Commissioners created a trust, the "Haji Waris Ali Shah Mausoleum Trust" which was to look after the management of the tomb of Warith and the surrounding buildings. Mr Stuart, the Judicial Commissioner, found concerning the institution in Dewa:

> I do not accept ... that there was anything of the nature of a recognized college of Durweshes. ... [It is] my finding that the Saint [Warith] did not belong to any Sufi body. As there is no body there are no recognized rules of succession. The appointment of Saiyid Muhammad Ibrahim was an appointment made by the followers of the Saint of their own free will and it does not in any way bind the Court to appoint a successor to the office of Saiyid Muhammad Ibrahim (whatever that office may be), in a manner in which Saiyid Muhammad Ibrahim was appointed. Saiyid Muhammad Ibrahim is dead now, ... The Court in my opinion has a perfect right to frame a scheme for the management of the mausoleum, the mosque and the khanqah ... as has been established conclusively by evidence...[2]

The breaking of ranks amongst the disciples as they tried to protect invested resources and sought new ones encouraged them to draw the machinery of the colonial state into the workings of the institution.

Pre-colonial Muslim governments had often been involved in the supervision of endowments and had also decided on the issue of succession.[3] The colonial state after its take-over, and later on the independent states, stepped into this role and it became nothing unusual for factions fighting for the sajjada nashinship or, as in this case, the general issue of succession to take these matters either to the executive or to the judiciary.[4] The framing

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[1] Beg, *Al Warith*, p. 385; interview with Mr.C.A. Waris, Assistant Secretary of the Haji Waris Ali Shah Mausoleum Trust, 15-17 August 1992.

[2] Judgement of the First Additional Judicial Commissioner, 14 March 1917, in "Haji Waris Ali Shah Mausoleum Trust, Dewa, Barabanki District", NWP&O, GAD, List 25, Serial 30, File 257 of 1917, UPSA, Lucknow.

[3] See Chapter 3, 'Succession and Sajjada nashini'.

[4] For instance Currie, *Cult of Mu'in al-din Chishti*, pp. 156-63.

of schemes of management, too, had been undertaken by the courts in different parts of the country.[1] In this case it was Mr Justice Stuart, first additional judicial commissioner, who decided whether the grace of Haji Warith 'Ali Shah was to flow down to his spiritual descendants or whether it was to be kept locked up in his tomb.

The Mausoleum Trust is still run on very similar conditions to those set out in 1917 and 1918. It had been set up to cover some of the functions normally undertaken by the sajjada nashin. It was

> to maintain the mausoleum, mosque and khanqah in proper repairs and good sanitary conditions and to make such improvements therein as its funds permit;
> ... to arrange for the performance of the Urs and Fatiha ceremonies at the mausoleum and for the lighting of the same in accordance with the existing usage;
> ... to provide facilities for the performance of worship and religious ceremonies by the disciples and followers of the late Waris Ali Shah and for persons visiting the said mausoleum, mosque or khanqah for religious purposes;
> ... to arrange for the charitable distribution of alms and gifts of food and clothing to the poor in honour of the memory of the Saint;
> ... [and] to take such steps as the Committee of management may deem necessary for carrying on the teaching of the late Haji Waris Ali Shah.[2]

Elections to the committee administering it have been held every five years. The committee is nowadays made up of nominated and elected members drawn from the District Board, the UP government, the Dargah Warsi Association and three different electoral colleges membership of which is based on donation of land or money to the

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[1] See for example A. Appadurai, *Worship and Conflict under Colonial Rule: A South Indian Case*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1981; C.J. Fuller, *Servants of the Goddess: The Priests of a South Indian Temple*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1984; F.A. Presler, *Religion under Bureaucracy: Policy and administration for Hindu temples in south India*, Cambridge University Press & Orient Longman, Hyderabad, 1989, chapter 2.

[2] Scheme of Management of the Haji Waris Ali Shah Mausoleum Trust, 14 March 1917, in "Haji Waris Ali Shah Mausoleum Trust, Dewa, Barabanki District", NWP&O, GAD, List 25, Serial 30, File 257 of 1917, UPSA, Lucknow.

Trust[1]. It is weighted in favour of the later two categories.[2] When it was set up a greater say had been given to the "Muhammadan gentlemen" involved in local politics, the Municipal and District Boards in Bara Banki.[3]

The 1917 judgement declared that two people nominated by local government should be on the administrative committee. Government involvement in the running of a shrine was a deviation from the usual policy pursued. During the Religious Endowments Conference 1914 the normal attitude had been explained as:

> For the past 60 or 70 years the policy of the Government of India has been to hold itself and its officers aloof from any part in the administration of religious endowments and trusts holding that these should be managed by committees of the community interested, ...[4]

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[1] Electoral College category 1 consists of managers of donated properties worth Rs. 500/- and above. Their right to vote passes after their death on to the next manager of the property. Electoral College category 2 consists of managers of donated properties worth between Rs. 100/- and Rs. 499/-. Their right to vote is equally transferred from one to the next. Electoral College category 3 is made up of those people who have once donated Rs. 400/- or more. They have the right to vote during their lifetime. The number in this last category has increased dramatically recently. Inflation has meant a dramatic decrease in the real value of Rs. 400/- that it has no longer the meaning it carried in 1917. The Trust is considering to amend that clause, to raise the minimum level of the donation and to make it index-linked. But any change of that order would need to be sanctioned by the High Court which is a lengthy process. The issue is on the agenda though and is supposed to be tackled relatively soon.
Interview with Mr.C.A. Waris, Assistant Secretary of the Haji Waris Ali Shah Mausoleum Trust, 15-17 August 1992.

[2] Interview with Mr.C.A. Waris, Assistant Secretary of the Haji Waris Ali Shah Mausoleum Trust, 15-17 August 1992.

[3] Scheme of Management of the Haji Waris Ali Shah Mausoleum Trust, 14 March 1917, in "Haji Waris Ali Shah Mausoleum Trust, Dewa, Bara Banki District", NWP&O, GAD, List 25, Serial 30, File 257 of 1917; Amended Scheme of Management, 3 September 1918, in "Haji Waris Ali Shah Mausoleum Trust, Dewa, Bara Banki District", NWP&O, GAD, List 25, Serial 91, File 601 of 1921, UPSA, Lucknow.

[4] Address of Sir R. Craddock, Proceedings of the Religious Endowments Conference held at Delhi on the 16th March 1914, in "Religious Endowments in UP", NWP&O, GAD, List 25, Serial 3, File 23 of 1919, UPSA, Lucknow.

In 1859 Lord Stanley, Secretary of State for India, had found that

> It is the duty of the Government of India to see that those institutions (religious endowments) enjoyed the equal and impartial protection of the law. But it is not called upon to provide especially for their management and superintendence by its own officers.[1]

With these sentiments in mind Act XX of 1863 had been devised to sever all then existing connections between government and the administration of religious endowments and to prevent any future connections. Before 1863, and especially before 1841 when the East India Company had decided on its policy of withdrawal from the active supervision of religious endowments, government had been quite considerably involved in the management of various endowments. But they found the work too time consuming for its officers and further

> non-Indian opinion adverse to Indian conservation and Christian missionary opinion in England, of the Exeter Hall type, which was making itself felt, as well as the change and excitement [which] followed the Sepoy Mutiny, to a certain extent naturally weighted with the Government in reviewing their attitude, with regards to these matters.[2]

The intention, in 1917, of having nominees of local government on the Mausoleum Trust Committee went quite clearly against that policy.[3] Unease over this decision was expressed

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[1] Lord Stanley, Secretary of State for India, to the Government of India, 24 February 1859, quoted in Proceedings of the Religious Endowments Conference held at Delhi on the 16th March 1914, in "Religious Endowments in UP", NWP&O, GAD, List 25, Serial 3, File 23 of 1919, UPSA, Lucknow.

[2] Dr. Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary, Proceedings of the Religious Endowments Conference held at Delhi on the 16th March 1914, in "Religious Endowments in UP", NWP&O, GAD, List 25, Serial 3, File 23 of 1919, UPSA, Lucknow.

[3] There had been some cases in which government had interfered: after misappropriation of funds at the shrine of Saiyid Salar Mas'ud in Bahraich the government took the management into its own hands and granted only a fixed allowance to the attendants of the shrine for their own support.
Karnamah (Lucknow), 10 October 1897, UPNNR 1897; Proceedings of the Religious Endowments Conference held at Delhi on the 16th March 1914, in "Religious Endowments in UP", NWP&O, GAD, List 25, Serial 3, File 23 of 1919, UPSA, Lucknow.

by some government officers within a month of the original judgement:

> According to this [arrangement] two members shall [emphasis in original] be nominated by Local Government for appointment on the Committee of Management. There is nothing to show in office that the wishes of the Local Government were consulted before the scheme was adopted by the Court...
> I do not understand how the government can be made to nominate members to sit on a private committee in this manner.[1]

The court judgement came at a time when public opinion had again been concerned with the fate of many religious endowments. The existing legislation, Act XX of 1863, which bore out the government principle of religious neutrality was widely felt as being inadequate concerning the terms of supervision of those endowments which fell under its jurisdiction as well as leaving totally untouched all those endowments previously unconnected with government. Many complaints about mismanagement of trusts and waqfs had been voiced over the previous decades in newspapers and government petitions.[2] A number of bills had been introduced into various provincial legislatures in order to remedy the problem. Calls for 'Boards' to be instituted which would have some control over the waqfs had come as early as the 1870s.[3] In the early twentieth century the government

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[1] Excerpts from two office notes on 11 April and 14 April 1917, in "Haji Waris Ali Shah Mausoleum Trust, Dewa, Barabanki District", NWP&O, GAD, List 25, Serial 30, File 257 of 1917, UPSA, Lucknow.

[2] See for example: *Almora Akhbar* (Almora), 16 February 1885, UPNNR 1885; *Naiyar-i-Azam* (Moradabad), 21 July 1890, UPNNR 1890; *Nizam-ul-Mulk* (Moradabad), 15 June 1891, *Mihr-i-Nimroz* (Bijnor), 14 August 1891, *Nasir-i-Hind* (Agra) 24 September and 8 October 1891, *Mufid-i-Am* (Agra), 1 October 1891, UPNNR 1891; *Zamanah* (Kanpur), 3 May 1894, *Akhbar-i-Islam* (Agra), 8 December 1894, UPNNR 1894; *Mashir-i-Saltanat* (Budaun), 20 June 1899, UPNNR 1899.
See also Proceedings of the Religious Endowments Conference in Delhi on 16th March 1914, in "Religious Endowments in UP", NWP&O, GAD, List 25, Serial 3, File 23 of 1919, UPSA, Lucknow.

[3] Proceedings of the Religious Endowments Conference in Delhi on the 16th March 1914, in "Religious Endowments in UP", NWP&O, GAD, List 25, Serial 3, File 23 of 1919, UPSA, Lucknow.

stance of non-involvement in religious trusts and endowments had, however, not undergone any general changes.

For the Haji Waris Ali Shah Mausoleum Trust the Court of the Judicial Commissioner could have deliberated that an operation of the size of the mausoleum in Dewa, not only in terms of visitors but also in terms of donations, would benefit from some government involvement. Especially since the first decade after Warith 'Ali Shah's death had already shown that disputes over funds and positions were inevitable.[1]

Once the UP Board of Sunni Waqfs had come into existence in 1935 it tried to take over the running of the Trust. A court battle followed, which is still pending, in which the Trust vigorously defended its right to management based on the court judgement of 1917. It claimed that the mausoleum was patronised not only by Sunni Muslims but also by Shia, Hindus and Christians who had given property to it and could thus not be governed by a single denomination waqf board.[2]

Those involved in the running of the Trust were normally people of standing in the community aged 40 and over. Before Independence most of them would have been either landlords or advocates or both. After Independence the base from which Trustees have been drawn has widened; they have come from all walks of life. Hindus, Shia and Sunni Muslims all have served on the Committee. Most Trustees have come from outside Dewa or Awadh although a few will have to be local to supervise affairs at the mausoleum. Those nominated by the UP government have usually been retired officers

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[1] Interview with Mr.C.A. Waris, Assistant Secretary of the Haji Waris Ali Shah Mausoleum Trust, 15-17 August 1992.

[2] *Ibid.*

aged 58 and over. They had administrative experience to bring to the Committee.[1]

As the Mausoleum Trust has been a successful venture many unconnected people and organisations have attempted to profit themselves by using the trademark 'Haji Warith 'Ali Shah'. People donned the garb of a Warthi and asked for donations in various parts of the country. They also formed associations claiming to be the true followers of Warith 'Ali Shah. One such organisation, the Anjuman Bargah-e Warsi, is based in Dewa itself others like the Warsia Trust in Lahore and the Warsi Academy in Karachi, exist in Pakistan.[2] Their activities are seen as motivated by personal gain by those involved in the Trust. The Assistant Secretary of the Committee, Chaudhry Atae Waris,

> dismisses with a disdain the claim of irregularities, made by the Anjuman Bargah-e Warsi, who has initiated a move to have the dargah taken over by the Waqf Board. "They are all members of a local family who are after personal gains,... They have been going around collecting unauthorised donations in ... the name of the dargah, ..."[3]

To make the point, that only the Mausoleum Trust is the official body, as widely known as possible the posters advertising the 'urs and the fairs state emphatically that there is no sajjada nashin, that everything is managed by the Trust Committee and that there is no other representative association or committee. These lines had been added to the posters from 1986/7 onwards prior to which it only stated that there was no sajjada nashin. For the last ten or fifteen years the posters have further listed the names of the four office bearers, the president, the honorary secretary, assistant secretary and honorary manager,

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[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *Times of India* (Lucknow), 2 August 1992; interview with Mr.C.A. Waris, Assistant Secretary of the Haji Waris Ali Shah Mausoleum Trust, 15-17 August 1992.

[3] *Pioneer on Sunday* (Lucknow), 5 April 1992.

of the Committee to prevent other people from claiming those posts.[1]

It is worth noting here that the development of Haji Warith 'Ali Shah's tradition is a textbook example of "the modern development" of Weber's routinisation of charisma. Whereas in the case of Salon and Kakori charisma was routinised in what Weber would term "the traditional fashion", that is in the institution of a sajjada nashin, in the case of Warith 'Ali Shah charisma was routinised in the bureaucratic form.[2] There was a struggle at first between the two forces, a competition for the resources between the living and the dead. The dead saint won and to ensure the survival of his legacy a bureaucratic management structure was developed. What we can observe is how the institution of the dargah responded to the modern environment in drawing administrative structures, like committees, into a traditional sufi venture.[3]

In how far Warith 'Ali Shah would have agreed to and liked the developments after his death is unknown. On the spot where he, who gave away his property and all his possessions, lived his last years and died stands now a memorial to him that has been described as "a splendid monument - one of the finest in Oudh"[4].

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[1] Interview with Mr.C.A. Waris, Assistant Secretary of the Haji Waris Ali Shah Mausoleum Trust, 15-17 August 1992; Urdu posters announcing the 'urs of Warith 'Ali Shah and the Mela Katik.

[2] H.H.Gerth and C.W. Mills, eds., *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, Routledge, London, 1970, pp. 51-4.

[3] For similar developments amongst ulama who were also beginning to make use of bureaucratic structures see: B.D. Metcalf, "The Madrasa at Deoband: A Model of Religious Education in India", *Modern Asian Studies*, 12:1 (1978), pp. 111-34.

[4] Husain, "Nineteenth Century Saint", p. 142.

The Funding of the Shrine

For most of Warith 'Ali Shah's lifetime there was no shrine to fund. Living the life of a traveller all that was necessary to maintain was the saint himself and one or two of his servants. Ever since he had left Lucknow for the first time to go on hajj Warith 'Ali Shah had enjoyed the hospitality of many people most of whom were or became his disciples.[1] In Dewa itself he also stayed in the houses of his followers until eventually a house dedicated to him was built.[2] So long as he travelled he stayed no longer than three days in any one place. He was careful to instruct his servants: "Do not ask for anything from our hosts."[3] He ate from whatever was offered to him and if his host could provide nothing then Warith shared his fast with him.[4] During his stays in Dewa a strict rota had been worked out among his followers of who was allowed to offer him food on which day.[5] Apart from looking after his physical needs his disciples also gave him ahrams to wear while the ones which he discarded were highly coveted and treated like relics.[6] And similarly to Kakori, the followers could support Warith 'Ali Shah's undertaking through publications. Since Warith did not write himself it was up to his disciples to commit his life, deeds and sayings to paper. And to pay for the books to be printed. Two books

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[1] For example Beg, *Al Warith*, pp. 67, 70, 73, 78, 82, 113-7.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 155; Husain, "Nineteenth Century Saint", p. 133.

[3] Beg, *Al Warith*, p. 113.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 207-8, 507.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 132-33; Husain, "Nineteenth Century Saint", p. 133.

[6] Husain, "Nineteenth Century Saint", p. 136; Beg, *Al Warith*, pp. 145, 213.

appeared already during his lifetime but a larger number was written after his death.[1]

Having got rid of his inherited possessions Haji Warith 'Ali Shah was careful not to acquire any new ones. "A fakir is this who has nothing. ... A fakir is this who does not collect anything for tomorrow."[2] According to his biographers, whatever Warith 'Ali Shah received from his followers that he was concerned to give away again before nightfall. "...it is the method of the lover that he distributes futuh straight away. So that at night his hand is empty and he is the owner of nothing."[3] Not only was he concerned to distribute what had been given to him but he also encouraged his followers to do the same.[4] The one thing which he had refused to touch since he was fifteen was money. And through depending entirely on his disciples and servants who either handled the money for him or supplied him with all the necessary goods he was able to wash his hands of what he clearly perceived to be a corrupting force. "From keeping money the hands become black," Warith felt, "[and] in the same way in which one has come into the world, empty handed, in that way one should go to sleep at night. He who loves God he hates money."[5]

It was not until after Warith 'Ali Shah's death that a shrine was constructed. For the last five or six years of his life he had been based in Dewa and those whom he had previously visited on his journeys then came to him.[6] After his funeral many of the

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[1] Beg, *Al Warith*, pp. 8-16. Disciples also organised the printing of shijras once they had appeared. *Ibid.*, p. 247.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 365.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 505; Husain, "Nineteenth Century Saint", p. 133.

[4] Beg, *Al Warith*, pp. 76, 212-3, 507-08; Siddiqi, *Mishkat*, pp. 203-4.

[5] Beg, *Al Warith*, p. 506.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 538.

disciples came together and donated money towards the construction of a mausoleum.[1] An informal committee was constituted to look after the funds and to supervise the building of the tomb, a mosque and some accommodation for pilgrims. Since all the donations had come from the immediate followers of Warith 'Ali Shah they wanted to have a say in how they were disposed of. The Dargah Warsi Association founded on the initiative of Mirza Ibrahim Beg[2] went to court to have a scheme of management framed for the properties and the offerings made at them.[3]

The Haji Waris Ali Shah Mausoleum Trust received funds from a number of sources. The main income came from donations of followers. There were two types of these, smaller gifts of money were put into the cash-boxes in the shrine complex itself while larger ones could be made against receipt in the office of the Trust. For the money-boxes to fill up it took normally two to three months but during mela times they were filled within four or five days. A second source of income was the rent which the shopkeepers had to pay if they wanted to set up a stall in the mela ground. And a third source were the properties which some followers had given to the Trust in waqf. In 1992

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[1] The two main patrons, according to Mr.C.A. Waris, the Assistant Secretary of the Haji Waris Ali Shah Mausoleum Trust, were both landlords from UP, Thakur Panjom Singh from Mainpuri District and Nawab 'Abd al Shakar from Bulandshahr District. Interview, 15-17 August 1992.
Other people arranged for waqfs the proceeds of which were to be spent on specific causes, lights in the tomb for instance, help for the poor, etc. A Madrasah Warthiya was also founded based on waqf. The Madrasah is now run by the Dewa Trust, and in the early 1960s imparted knowledge in religious education to about 50 children. Siddiqi, *Mishkat*, pp. 205, 212-5; *DG Bara Banki* (1964), p. 222.

[2] Mirza Ibrahim Beg Shaida, a second-generation follower of Warith 'Ali Shah, was the author of *Al Warith* and a number of other books on Warith 'Ali Shah.

[3] Interview with Mr.C.A. Waris, Assistant Secretary of the Haji Waris Ali Shah Mausoleum Trust, 15-17 August 1992.

there were at least 14 of these bringing in various amounts of income.[1]

Although on the whole the development of the Trust has been a success story there was a time when financial hardship had to be coped with. In the 1950s and 60s, in the period after Partition and Zamindari Abolition in both UP and Bihar, there was a shortage of funds. Before Zamindari Abolition much support had come from big landlords in these two regions. While Partition meant the migration of many Muslims to Pakistan from where no money could be sent, Zamindari Abolition put an end to most contributions from large landlords. Many left the countryside for the city and those who stayed behind could not provide support on a similar level. This shortage of money was overcome without any outside help in form of loans and without any widespread appeals to the constituency. Members of the Trust Committee and a few selected followers helped out personally as well as the annual budget being cut. By the late 1960s and early 70s the situation had turned around and in the 1980s the shrine has registered a surplus in its income.[2]

Over the last 20 years the number of people coming to the mausoleum has increased and with it has increased the amount of money received in offerings. Furthermore the Trust obviously benefitted from those devotees who were working in England, America and the Gulf states. These people earn more money from which they can give bigger donations. This also goes someway to explain the recent surplus in funds.[3]

In 1992 the annual budget stood between Rs. 3,00,000 and Rs. 4,00,000. The surplus in funds has been put into bank accounts and used for much needed construction

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[1] *Ibid.*; List of Voters, Categories 1 and 2, in: *Qawm-i Awaz* (Lucknow), September 1992.

[2] Interview with Mr.C.A. Waris, Assistant Secretary of the Haji Waris Ali Shah Mausoleum Trust, 15-17 August 1992.

[3] *Ibid.*

programmes. Recently the old mosque within the mausoleum complex was demolished and replaced by a new three storey one. With the increase in visitors more accommodation was also needed. Next to the shrine the Trust has acquired some land on which further rooms will be built.[1]

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The cult of Haji Warith 'Ali Shah has been very successful in the twentieth century. This success is due to two different factors, on the one hand the broad base of the shrine's constituency, and on the other the new style of succession. (This is not to say that the 'effectiveness' of Warith 'Ali Shah as a saint, dead or alive, did not lay at the heart of his immense popularity.) The enormous geographical and professional as well as religious spread of Warith 'Ali's disciples allowed the shrine to withstand the upheavals of Partition and Zamindari Abolition. The shrine was not dependent on one class of followers who might have been particularly hard hit by the land reform and it had a substantial following within the Hindu community so that the division of India did not devastate the shrine completely. The new form of management which was put in place circa a decade after Warith 'Ali Shah's death proved very beneficial for the shrine. Since Warith 'Ali had stated that there would be no successor, no sajjada nashin, to him, his spiritual charisma remained in the grave with him. The people came only to worship at his tomb, there was no successor to detract from the initial spiritual message proclaimed by Warith 'Ali Shah. His tomb was declared a trust and managed by a committee representing the Weberian process of bureaucratic routinisation of charisma, a novel form of organisation in the sufi tradition of India. This form of management proved to be

[1] *Ibid.*

flexible in its approaches to the various problems of the twentieth century.

Warith 'Ali Shah's spiritual mission developed in the context of a growing British presence and an increasing awareness of European thought and culture. In order to face up to this challenge properly and to offer his followers a sufi way forward in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries Warith 'Ali Shah forged his own spiritual path. He circumvented the 'dead-weight' of medieval Islam dispensing with unnecessary or ornamental customs and rituals and focusing on the central issue of Love. In its simplicity this message was designed to appeal to people from other faiths. Warith 'Ali had therefore discarded the points of division among several religions and allowed people to rally around a common, uniting tenet. In this he can in some ways be regarded as a successor to Kabir (d.1448), a saint of the Bakhti movement, whose aim had been to remove all barriers of caste, creed and wealth between the Indian population. Both saints lived in periods of deep political, economic and social change which always lead to increased religious activity in which very often the previously accepted religious doctrines were re-examined and reformed.

Chapter 5

Sufis and Spiritual Intervention in the Changing Uncertainties of Life

The Role and Function of Saints and Miracles

We need to consider the meaning of the miracles worked in our three saintly traditions in nineteenth and twentieth century Awadh. Before doing so it is of value to consider the current understanding of spiritual intervention in general.

There are many different terms denoting Muslim saints: wali (pl. awliya), murshid, pir, shaikh or marabout.[1] And in the absence of a central canonising authority there are many different characteristics which separately or in combination define Muslim saints: piety, religious and spiritual learning, attachment to a sufi silsila, descent from the Prophet or one of his companions, asceticism and humility, ecstasy, and the ability to perform miracles. The defining quality of a Muslim saint, the cause of his holiness rather than its consequence, is his closeness and nearness to God. This is already expressed in the term wali which means 'friend of God'.[2] This special relationship with God made him the possessor of barakat, spiritual blessings, and allowed him to be more powerful than those around him. The saint's powers therefore were manifold: he was a clairvoyant knowing the thoughts, spiritual states, questions and actions of other people and he was able to answer and influence them. He had universal knowledge knowing the future, spiritual

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[1] The term 'saint' has been used only for want of a better word. The wali performs similar functions to the Christian saint.

[2] Currie, *Cult of Mu'in al-din Chishti*, chapter 1, especially pp. 1-12.

secrets, but also the location of lost objects or people. His perceptions had been heightened and he had complete control over his physical needs. His body was not constrained by the laws of nature: he was able to fly, to walk over water, to walk through walls, to be in two or more locations at once, to shrink or grow and to appear in different bodies.[1] Whatever powers a specific saint had they had been granted to him by God on the understanding that these powers should be kept secret and not be openly used for show.[2]

Miracles in Islam have traditionally been divided into three categories: the miracles or 'signs' of God, ayat, the miracles of the Prophet, mu'jizat, and the miracles or 'marvels' of saints, karamat. The miracles of God include the creation of the world and its inhabitants and demonstrate his omnipotence. Their miraculousness is not defined by the criterion of defying the natural order of things. They were created as the natural order. The miracles of human beings however, in common with Christian concepts, are only miracles if they seem to defy the natural order of things.[3] They do not because they are bestowed by God on the saints, and the one creation of God, the miracle, can not be contrary to the other creation of God, the natural order. If they appear to do so then that is only because the human mind can not comprehend the complexity of the natural order. The characteristics of the miracles of prophets and saints are therefore that they are apparently contrary to nature and that they happen in this world and not in the next. The main difference between the karamat and the mu'jizat is that the former should be hidden,

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[1] R. Gramlich, *Die Wunder der Freunde Gottes: Theologien und Erscheinungsformen des Islamischen Heiligenwunders*, Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden, 1987, pp. 148-244.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 43-9.

[3] See B. Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind: Theory, Record and Event, 1000-1215*, Scolar Press, revised edition, Aldershot, 1987, chapter 1; R.C. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England*, London, 1977, pp. 51-4.

they are the personal favours of the saint, while the latter have to be displayed, they are a public act.[1] The mu'jizat have to illustrate and prove the claims of a new prophet, reform the religious traditions of the day so that a revitalised new one can be forged and generally prove beyond reasonable doubt that the individual concerned is a messenger of God. The miracles of the saint, the kashf, disclosures, dreams and visions, and the karamat, do not carry that weight nor do they have to make such an impact. To put it in the words of Shah Habib Haidar Qalandar:

> For men karamat have the same significance as [for women] menstruation [has] and disclosures, kashf, have the same significance as giving birth to a child. This is to say that just as for the woman the sign of her maturity is menstruation and from the time that she begins to menstruate she is perfect in that she is mature and can bear children and she [can] express herself through herself, in the same way on the spiritual path the karamat indicate the position of maturity [for the seeker] ... and from that time karamat become intentionally visible. And through disclosures the person on the spiritual path indicates his perfection....[2]

Why did people need miracles and other forms of saintly interventions? Wherever people lived in an "intensely insecure environment"[3] in which they could neither control nor rationally explain many of the events happening around them they needed to appeal to a force greater than their own which could mediate for them. Saints with miracle-working abilities were needed to reassure people facing the daily uncertainties of life. If men believed that everything happened by chance only, that they were subject to every

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[1] These were Shah 'Ali Anwar Qalandar's views on talking about karamat:

... if someone wanted to talk about a karamat or 'Ali Anwar's supernatural power, then he stopped him with the words: "It is not nice to listen to one's own miracles. A perfect dervish is he who annihilates his self and annihilates himself in God ... He should hide his connection [to God] so much that even a dervish could not recognize him." 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 524.

[2] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, I, p. 387.

[3] Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, p. 5.

caprice of arbitrary fortune, the uncertainties of daily existence would have made life intolerable for them.[1] The belief in a 'greater plan' behind it all, a reason and purpose for all events, directed by God and mediable to by the saints, made life worth living. Belief in miracles was a consequence of the desire to explain and relieve human misfortune.[2] The acceptance of the miraculous was a basic dimension of life. A common spiritual atmosphere and a particular psychology prepared men for the experience of miraculous events.[3] Miracles were therefore the rule rather than the exception.[4] Malinowski contended that magic is "to be expected and generally to be found whenever man comes to an unbridgeable gap, a hiatus in his knowledge or in his powers of practical control, and yet has to continue in his pursuit."[5] An appeal to the saint for a miraculous intervention, whether seen as coming from the saint or from God via the saint, took the place of magic.

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 94.

[2] See *ibid.*, p. 5.

[3] See A. Gurevich, *Medieval Popular Culture: Problems of Belief and Perception*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990, p. 124.
Michael Gilsenan found that the miracles of a saint:

> to a non-member [of his circle] of comparable social background and education ... would give rise to no particular comment or attention but would be accepted as chance ..., coincidence ..., or even mere forgetfulness ... It is rather that the mystical explanation is preferred over the alternative. ... The 'miracle' is in the eye of the believer.

Gilsenan, *Saint and Sufi in Modern Egypt*, p. 32.

[4] Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind*, p. 33.

[5] Quoted in Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, p. 774.

The Range of Saintly Activity

The three different spiritual traditions which are under investigation here, represented by the saints of Takiya Sharif, Kakori, those of the Khanqah Karimiya, Salon, and Haji Warith 'Ali Shah, Dewa, have catered for different groups of customers and this will be reflected in their miracle traditions. The sajjada nashins of Takiya Sharif had an overwhelmingly middle-class constituency working in the professions, in the civil service or as businessmen. The disciples involved their spiritual guides in all areas of their worldly and spiritual affairs. It is more difficult to analyse the miracle tradition of Salon. Not much in terms of karamat has survived. But from the few that have, a similar mixture of mundane and spiritual as found for Kakori can be deducted. Since the clientele of the Khanqah Karimiya was drawn from a different segment of society than that of Takiya Sharif, namely the agricultural classes, the miracle stories equally reflected the different concerns. Haji Warith 'Ali Shah had a different approach to dealing with his clients problems. Loath to intercede for someone through praying or cursing he did not write amulets for people either. Himself bearing all afflictions without any complaints he did not like listening to anyone of his followers complaining about their circumstances. Any illness however severe he considered to be a gift from God and attempts to remove that illness were tantamount to rejecting God's present. Warith 'Ali Shah's miracle tradition was much more focused on the spiritual sphere; his own life had been lived more or less outside the framework of the state and although he did not advise everybody to leave the world and become a full-time seeker of God as he was, the greatest gift which he could bestow on someone was, in his own words, "to make him useless to this world". For the following analysis of the miracles those relating to the sajjada nashins of Kakori have been

used in the main.

Like all saints the Muslim saint was involved in the life of a disciple from beginning to end or, as in some cases, from making the prediction that a child was to be born to making the announcement of a follower's impending death. Every facet of life between those two focal points was permeable by saintly interventions.

One of the most important areas of saintly activity was that of family and children. The main points at which the saint intervened were the issues of having children and of their survival, of getting children married off, of the absence of male relatives and of coping with bereavement. It was crucial for most women to have children as this was one of their main functions in life and society rated them according to how many children and especially sons they had born. The saint having the power of foresight could predict whether a marriage would be blessed with off-spring or whether a second marriage was necessary for the husband in order to have children.[1] The saint also informed the prospective parents of the gender of their future child.[2] For wearing during pregnancy and childbirth the saint gave out ta'wiz to protect the mother and unborn baby and since infant mortality was very high the new born child came also immediately under his protection.[3] Once the children had grown up the saint was drawn in to help with finding a suitable partner for them, in the main from within the extended family clan.[4] Many men had to look for employment outside of their home town, often even outside of their native

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[1] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, pp. 360-1.

[2] 'Alawi, *Usul*, p. 398; 'Alawi, *Azkar*, pp. 534-5; 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, pp. 736-7; interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 20 January 1992.

[3] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, pp. 736-7, 747-52.

[4] 'Alawi, *Usul*, p. 432; 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, 669-70.

province, but in many cases they left their families in their ancestral qasbah. The saint was then called upon to reassure those left behind of the well-being of their male relatives.[1] In cases of death of family members it was his role to mitigate the surviving relatives' sorrow and pain and "to fill their hearts with love".[2] After the burial of his daughter Mawlwi Niyaz Ahmad said:

> The dead was a murida of Shah Habib Haidar. When she was being buried then through the grace of her pir her grave was covered in light. In seeing this I was moved into a state of happiness.[3]

The extended family was fairly central to everybody's life. It was the immediate society within which most people lived and whose approval and support were sought and whose expectations the individual tried to meet. The saint mediated at the various crisis points within its machinery.

Another area of saintly involvement was that of illness and health. A large number of the miracles dealt with cures of human illnesses. The main epidemics encountered were malaria, cholera and plague.[4] Other recurring diseases were, for instance, boils and kidney problems.[5] A particularly dangerous period for a woman was that of pregnancy and childbirth.[6] Health problems were endemic in the subcontinent and people felt helpless in dealing with most illnesses. For many disease was a fact of life which could take

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[1] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 480; 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, p. 669.

[2] 'Alawi, *Usul*, pp. 417-8; 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, pp. 730-1.

[3] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, p. 731.

[4] 'Alawi, *Usul*, pp. 409-10; 'Alawi, *Azkar*, pp. 401, 439, 460, 478, 541; 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, pp. 675, 743.

[5] 'Alawi, *Usul*, pp. 407, 412-3, 422-4; 'Alawi, *Azkar*, pp. 476, 526; 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, p. 674.

[6] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 460; 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, pp. 738, 748-52, 757-8.

surprising turns to the better or worse but with which they had to live. The saint was there to help with prayer, amulet, advice and psychological support. Psychological support was especially necessary when supplicants despaired of their protracted illnesses and looked towards death rather than life.[1]

A considerable amount of saintly activity was spent on protecting the movements of murids when they had left the safety of their own home. The protection offered began on nightly walks through the qasbah and included any form of animal or mechanical transport available and locations as far apart as the desert and the sea. Most of these 'transport-miracles' happened to men since they spent more time outside their house than women.[2] Followers were protected from accidents or crashes,[3] from loss of possessions or attacks by animals,[4] from travelling too long without water or from falling into water[5]. They were protected from train robberies too.[6] The saint covered all activities outside the house which might have involved danger points for his disciple.

One sphere in which the saint was very active on his murids behalf was in the work place. Whichever job a follower pursued the saint was in it with him. He not only predicted job prospects for his disciples,[7] but sometimes even selected a job from among

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[1] 'Alawi, *Usul*, pp. 408-9, 424-5.

[2] For a similar observation for Christian miracles see Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*, pp. 148-9.

[3] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, pp. 667-8, 740.

[4] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, pp. 535-6, 615-6.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 480; 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, p. 762.

[6] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 642.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 461, 475.

a number of offers.[1] The saint then protected his follower against wrongful accusations, bad reports and hostile superiors as well as dismissals.[2] Sometimes he was called upon to hold up a transfer order to an undesirable location and sometimes he had to arrange a transfer to a desirable place.[3] He would also predict job promotions.[4] Many disciples felt that their "employment from beginning to end was only an expression of the karamat and supernatural power" of their saints.[5] It was important to know for the supplicants that their saints could support them throughout their period of gainful employment.

Closely connected to employment was the issue of financial security. The saint helped murids with money problems either by turning their thoughts away from such worldly matters,[6] by letting money appear as dung (in a dream),[7] or by fulfilling their need[8]. Sometimes the saint was also called upon to predict future financial settlements and wealth of his followers.[9] Those in debt needed help and reassurance about the improvement of their financial status.[10] The saint was not excluded from helping supplicants in material matters.

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 540.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 458; 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, p. 670.

[3] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, pp. 715, 753-4.

[4] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, pp. 618-9.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 528.

[6] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, pp. 664-5.

[7] 'Alawi, *Usul*, pp. 419-20.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 406.

[9] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 437; 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, p. 706.

[10] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, pp. 854-5.

Crime was another area in which the saints had to do their duty. Theft was the most widespread offence with which the saint had to help. As he possessed universal knowledge he was aware when a crime was being committed, by whom and what was stolen.[1]

Control over nature and climate were also within the saint's domain. The weather in India was divided into three distinct phases: the cold, the hot and the wet. The period most waited for was the coming of the rains. The monsoon was vital for the people; apart from offering immediate relief from the preceding period of heat it determined whether there would be a drought with an ensuing famine or whether the crop would be plentiful.[2] Too much rain on the other hand could not only threaten the harvest but also cause floods and put people's lives in danger and, thus, equally called for intercession from the saint.[3]

Apart from these worldly matters in which the saint took an active interest he, of course, also helped his followers in more spiritual affairs. Through his interventions he allowed his murids to deal with black magic, hostile apparitions and jinns.[4] He further answered all their religious queries, reassuring those with doubts, granting spiritual powers and states and exhorting lazy murids to pray.[5]

The saint was part and parcel of every follower's life. His influence was not limited to any one sphere but could be perceived in and consulted on every conceivable

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[1] 'Alawi, *Usul*, p. 416; 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, pp. 738-9.

[2] Beg, *Al Warith*, p. 477; 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 363; 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, pp. 695-6.

[3] For example 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, pp. 694-5.

[4] 'Alawi, *Usul*, pp. 425, 428-9; 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, pp. 740-2. For an explanation of jinns see Chapter 2, 'Ministering to the Constituency'.

[5] 'Alawi, *Usul*, p. 435; 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, 673-4, 707.

crisis point. Just as his activities began well before the birth of a new human being they extended past the person's death. Shah Turab 'Ali Qalandar reassured a murid anxious about death: "Do not be afraid. At least for some days I will be here [in the grave with you]."[1] What the murid was afraid of was being questioned by the two recording angels, Nakir and Munkir, after his death in the grave. This was meant to decide whether the dead was to experience comforts and pleasures or harshness and torments until the Day of Judgement.[2] The saint was going to stand by his follower not only immediately after his death but also in the period immediately before, so that he could calm the person and introduce a yearning for God in his heart.[3] The saintly welfare system therefore reached well beyond the parameters of cradle and grave.

Coping with 'Modernity'

The saint has always been the intermediary between his followers and sources of

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[1] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 402.

[2] See B.D. Metcalf, *Perfecting Women: Mawlana Ashraf 'Ali Thanawi's Bihishti Zewar*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1990, pp. 71-2:

> When a person dies - either after the burial or, if there is no burial, wherever the person may be - two angels, one of whom is called Munkir and the other Nakir, come to the dead person and ask, "Who is your lord, and what is your religion?" They ask about Hazrat Muhammad, the Messenger of God. A dead person who is faithful answers correctly and is given all kinds of comfort. The angels open a window in the direction of heaven, from which come cool breezes and fragrance. The dead person sinks into pleasure and sleeps. But a dead person who is without faith and is unable to reply to the questions suffers great harshness and torment until the Day of Judgement. ...

[3] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, pp. 402, 646; Makram Ahmad 'Alawi, *Gulshan-i Karamat*, Rampur, n.d., p. 9.

worldly and spiritual power. Throughout time the various spheres in which the saint was active on his follower's behalf did not change; the points of anxiety within them, however, did. As his constituency came into contact with new technological developments, for instance, new modes of transport and communications or a completely new medical system, the saint responded to, and was able to accommodate, these different aspects of 'modernity'.

One of the areas in which it was very easy to see how the saint incorporated new developments and inventions into his repertory was that of transport. As has been mentioned in the section above the saint was concerned, and often called upon, to protect the movements and travels of his murids outside the safety of their own home. In one set of circumstances that meant that the saint looked after his followers while riding animals, say a horse or an elephant. For instance, when Naw Shah 'Ali, assistant tahsildar, went on a tour of inspection to some villages he had to ride along a path in between a steep cliff and a area of acacias.

> He had ridden a long way when the horse began to shy and shivered and stopped. Then suddenly it ran along the narrow path. It had seen a lion ... Naw Shah 'Ali kept his senses but the danger was that if the horse was to do one wrong step then he would fall down the cliff or into the acacias. In both cases he would face death. In front of him the narrow path turned towards the area of acacias. That was the way to the village. To follow it in this condition with the horse running was very dangerous. There was not much space, the horse was uncontrolled, and he asked for help in his heart from Hazrat Sahib. Suddenly near the point at which the road was turning he saw Shah Habib Haidar coming out of the acacias. He came forward and when the horse had reached the danger point Shah Habib Haidar took hold of the reins and directed it towards the area of acacias. It ran in that direction and slowed down. Naw Shah 'Ali said: "I saw Habib Haidar in the forest so closely that I could even recognize the dust on his shoes. And then suddenly he vanished into the forest."[1]

A second set of circumstances involved animal-drawn conveyances. The traditional

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[1] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 617.

mode of transport of the Indian population at large was the bullock-cart. It was used for passenger and goods transport. A more up-market version was the ekka, a cart drawn by a single horse used for passengers. Both these animal-drawn conveyances had obvious points of danger. The saint's powers were called upon to protect those travelling on the slow and open bullock-cart and to look after their belongings.[1] Similarly, he had to prevent followers having accidents on the faster yet more unstable ekkas.[2]

Another type of transport was the boat used on the rivers and canals for goods traffic within India. Up to the 1870s many traders from Awadh sent their merchandise by boat to Calcutta for sale. The saint's intercession was sought to stop the boats from sinking.[3] This happened also to Shaikh Manzur 'Ali on his way from Benares to Calcutta.

> On the way I saw two ships coming from far away. When they came close then they passed with so much force that there were big waves on the river. And the boat was about to capsize. People became desperate, then I remembered Shah Turab 'Ali Qalandar. At once the waves subsided ... We reached Calcutta safely.[4]

The saint was very much in control of these traditional modes of transport and ensured the safe arrival of his followers.

With the coming of the railways the saint began to draw this new form of transport into his authority. As the railway net spread, and Kakori was linked up in 1872, more and more murids began to use it. The classic type of saintly intervention in this area was the saint dissuading a disciple from taking a particular train. Either because it was destined

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 439; 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, p. 757.

[2] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, p. 740.

[3] 'Alawi, *Usul*, pp. 442-3; 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 620.

[4] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, pp. 398-9.

to have an accident or because a dacoity was going to happen on the train.[1] The saint was also aware when a train would be delayed and by how much time.[2] Once a murid was on a train the saint did not relinquish his protection but ensured that during the journey all his needs were met and that he and his belongings were safe.[3] But there were also other problems involved with railway travel. Since a passenger could not himself determine when a train was running but had to accommodate his own activities to the railway timetable problems with religious obligations could arise. Shaikh Sa'id al Din stated:

> Once I was coming from Shahabad, zilla Hardoi, to Kakori. On the way when I reached some station it was the time of the 'Asr prayer. I spread out my prayer mat and offered my prayer. Then I boarded the train. Suddenly I became somewhat sleepy and I saw Shah Haidar 'Ali in a vision. He said to me: "The place on which you pray should be clean. The purity of the cloth is not enough." When I thought about it then it was true that that place had not been clean. But as I had been in a hurry I had not cared for that.[4]

The question of whether it was permissable to pray on a moving train was only solved later.[5] The saints himself were of course not averse to travelling by train as Haji Warith 'Ali Shah on his many journeys demonstrated.[6] The railways which became the means of

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 642-3; 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, pp. 667-8.

[2] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, p. 740.

[3] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, pp. 535-6, 648.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 440.

[5] K.A. Nizami, "Socio-Religious Movements in Indian Islam (1763-1898)", in S.T. Lokhandwalla, ed., *India and Contemporary Islam: Proceedings of a Seminar*, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla, 1971, p. 109.

[6] For example Beg, *Al Warith*, pp. 106-7. That episode is also an illustration of the fact that Indian travellers with first class tickets often had to leave the compartment if there were European passengers in it (forced or out of their own volition). In this case Warith 'Ali Shah returned to the compartment and insisted on travelling in it.

travelling for the majority of the Indian population were well within the sway of the Muslim saints.

Equally the motor car did not represent any problem of management for the saint. Shah Mujtaba Haidar Qalandar was given a car by a disciple in 1957 as the consequence of a blessed dream.[1] But even before then, in the mid-1930s, the saint's protecting hand extended to those murids alone on the road.[2] Those who forgot to buy enough petrol could also rely on the saint.

> ... I went by car from Agra to Kakori on the occasion of the 'urs. In the middle of the journey when Kanpur was 10 or 11 miles away we ran out of petrol and the engine stopped. It was difficult to get petrol at that time. I asked for petrol nearby in a village and with difficulty I got one bottle. Which was not enough. I got worried because it was very dangerous to be in the forest as the women folk were with us. I remembered Shah Habib Haidar and said: "Hazrat, please help me this time." In saying this I told my driver: "With the help of God the engine will start. Let's go." As a result we reached Kanpur safely. And the petrol which we had put in remained. After buying petrol in Kanpur we reached Kakori.[3]

To his followers the saint was the fourth emergency service.

As the transport system developed the saints incorporated the new modes of travel into his domain. In the Nawabi period he dealt effectively with beasts and boats and in the colonial period and after, modern means of conveyance were added to that. In the age of flying the saint did not stand by idly either. Just like asking a disciple to take a different train because of a future accident the saint would make the murid take a different plane to avoid possible dangers.

In the medical sector, too, the saint incorporated new developments. The role of

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[1] 'Alawi, *Azarat*, p. 33.

[2] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 615.

[3] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, pp. 699-700.

healer was the saint's most traditional occupation and healing miracles made up a large part of his recorded deeds. In many cases people consulted their pir about matters of ill-health. The saint removed their illnesses through concentrating on them and praying for them.[1] Shaikh Ahmad Husain experienced the power of his saint's attention when he was suffering from a high temperature.

> Shah Muhammad Kazim Qalandar said: "If God wants then I will pray for you today at a certain time." ... After greeting him I went back to the house waiting for the attention of Shah Muhammad Kazim. In the evening when ... I [was] very close to sleeping I unexpectedly felt that Muhammad Kazim was concentrating on me. And as a result I felt a degree cooler and enjoyed that. ... The cold increased and I covered my head with a blanket. I saw that I was floating in a sea of ice water which my nature enjoyed. In this condition I fell asleep.[2]

Other ways of curing involved granting ta'wiz or being given something personal by the saint, for instance an item of clothing or food.[3]

The traditional Islamic medical system which flourished in South Asia was unani tibb. It was embedded in the town and qasbah culture of which the constituency of Takiya Sharif, Kakori, was very much a part. Hakims, the practitioners of tibb, were largely urban-based and Lucknow alongside Delhi was the main centre for Islamic medicine in north India. Those afflicted by illness often consulted a hakim before, or at the same time as, taking their troubles to the saint. It was, of course, the saint who removed the bodily affliction, or was the driving-force behind the removal, while the hakim looked on. Hakim 'Abd al Halim was suffering from colic pain and neither he nor any of the other three hakims around him could cure it. It was only through the intervention of Shah Habib

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[1] 'Alawi, *Usul*, pp. 407, 409-13; 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 460.

[2] 'Alawi, *Usul*, pp. 412-3.

[3] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 439; 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, pp. 698-9, 718, 746, 755.

Haidar that the pain disappeared.[1] A more dramatic intervention was undertaken by Habib Haidar to save the wife of Nawab 'Abd al Karim Khan. She had

> developed a small boil above her knee which was accompanied by strong burning and high fever. According to Hakim Amjad 'Ali ... [she] displayed all the symptoms of plague as described in tibb. And the children should not be let near her. After one week the boil had disappeared.[2]

When the Nawab attended the next 'urs at Kakori and told his pir about it he was informed: "Her time of death had been wrong. It was changed." Unani medicine was the system mainly relied upon by the saints themselves when they were ill. During Shah 'Ali Anwar's last illness he was attended by six hakims who treated him singularly and jointly.[3] One of them was the great Hakim 'Abd al 'Aziz who had founded the Takmil al Tibb College in Lucknow and who was one of the two influential medical men in northern India.

Once 'western' medicine arrived on the scene murids had another medical system to choose from. It was around the beginning of the twentieth century that western doctors began to look for customers on the open market although hospitals had been in existence before. It was nothing unusual for a sick person to consult hakims, doctors and the saint about his illness.[4] When Chawdhri Habib Hasan was concerned about his sister she was first taken to a hakim "and at last I took her to Lucknow and I got the opinion of the big hospitals and of the homeopathic and English and unani doctors".[5] The prognoses of these

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[1] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, pp. 666-7.

[2] *Ibid.*, II, p. 675.

[3] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, pp. 566-71.

[4] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, pp. 769-70.

[5] *Ibid.*, II, p. 738.

different medical authorities could be somewhat divergent as Nawab 'Abd al Karim Khan discovered.

> Once I had a very dangerous boil on my neck. It was as hard as a stone. And it was swollen in many places. ... Hakim Amjad 'Ali Sahib's prognosis was that with medicine the boil would burst in twenty days. In the opinion of the doctor it would take ten days and it would be advisable to wrap a poultice around the boil. I wrote about my condition to Shah Habib Haidar. He granted me a ta'wiz which was to be dissolved in water and should be put on the boil. And so at night the ta'wiz was dissolved. The next day a hole developed in the boil and the pus came out.[1]

The treatment by the saint offered almost immediate relief in contrast to that of the two medical systems.

The often invasive approach of western medicine which looked to surgery for many of its solutions was also questioned by the saint.[2] In the instance of Nawab 'Abd al Karim's boil

> Shah Habib Haidar [had] advised: "This boil should not be operated upon." ... The doctor[, however,] had operated on one side of the boil with a pair of scissors to get more pus to pour out. Because of this disobedience [of Shah Habib Haidar's orders] there was many complications. If the doctor had not interfered then that part of the boil would have healed well too.[3]

Equally Chawdhri Habib Hasan's sister was diagnosed as having a tumour and as remedy a "quick operation" was suggested. Needless to say, the saint did not confirm this opinion.[4]

The problems murids were faced with when they resorted to unani or western medicine were well within the saint's reach. Shah Habib Haidar Qalandar was able to tell his disciples when it was necessary for them to be treated by a certain doctor and when

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[1] *Ibid.*, II, p. 674.

[2] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, pp. 639-40.

[3] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, p. 674.

[4] *Ibid.*, II. p. 738.

treatment would not bring any benefits.[1] His powers allowed him to be more knowledgeable than either hakim or doctor. This did not mean, however, that the saints did not make use of western medicine when it was necessary. Shah Taqi Haidar himself resorted to it for his eye complaint.[2]

The adoption of 'modern developments' did not always run smoothly, however. These things caused considerable anxiety within the Muslim mind. The predicament of the Muslim community was that in the nineteenth century modernisation was presented to them through the mediation of the colonial power. There was the question in how far adoption of western inventions would violate the Quranic injunction that to follow the ways of the infidels was to become an unbeliever oneself. The range of issues which exercised the minds of the saints' followers can be gauged from the contents of the miracles, while the queries of the Muslim community as a whole can be found in the collections of fatwas of that time. Questions raised concerned the telegraph, phonograph, factory-made cloth and the use of alcohol-based western medicine, but also seemingly minor things like toothbrushes or cigarettes and cigars.[3] Cameras and photography were also a crucial issue since the depiction of human beings was generally frowned upon within Islam. Some of the saints though had their own way of dealing with photography. Pictures taken of Shah Habib Haidar after becoming sajjada nashin did not come out in the development process.[4] Haji Warith 'Ali Shah, however, made full use of photography.

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[1] *Ibid.*, II, pp. 674, 731-2, 766.

[2] *Ibid.*, II, p. 793; 'Alawi, *Gulshan-i Karam*, p. 280.

[3] Metcalf, *Islamic Revival in British India*, p. 154; Nizami, "Socio-Religious Movements in Indian Islam", pp. 109-10.

[4] Letter from Dr.M.A. Alavi, 25 April 1995.

A number of his followers possessed a card-sized photograph depicting him.[1]

Most people were pragmatic about accepting 'modern things'. Whatever was useful for their lives, like having the news of the sighting of the moon for religious festivals communicated through the telephone, was made use of.[2] "The inventions and technology of the British were never condemned unless ... some sinful item or practice was intrinsic to them."[3]

Coping with Colonialism

The most pervasive threat to the saints' constituency came from the imposition of colonial rule in India in 1857. Colonialism, the taking over of sovereign power by a foreign nation, meant the introduction of an alien education and legal system, a new administrative set up, the end of official encouragement of the indigenous religions and the elevation of British culture, values and habits above those of the various Indian communities. The saints, however, were not daunted by these 'foreign threats' and looked after their constituencies from granting protection during the 1857 Uprising in northern India to the accurate prediction of the date by which the English would have left India.[4]

The newly introduced education system contained various points of tension. For

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[1] Beg, *Al Warith*, p. 220.

[2] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 5 June 1992.

[3] Metcalf, *Islamic Revival in British India*, p. 154.

[4] 'Alawi, *Rawz al Azhar*, pp. 665-6; 'Alawi, *Gulshan-i Karam*, pp. 93, 280.

once, the religious permissibility of English education had to be established.[1] Then the different school set-up had to be adapted too. Previously, students had been instructed by tutors brought into the family or qasbah from outside who were consequently under the control of the family or qasbah. In the English system the school was outside this control and a student's progress could not be ensured through personal relationships and economic dependencies.[2]

The greatest source of anxiety for the student were the many opportunities for failure built into the system: the exams. These had to be passed in regular intervals and were the content of numerous miracle stories. 'Ali Akhtar 'Abbasi, for example, was weak in Maths and failed his Entrance Exam. His pir, Shah Habib Haidar, reassured the father the following year that his son would this time be successful.

> The exams began. ['Ali Akhtar] did the English paper well as he had done the previous year. The following day was the Maths exam. On seeing the paper he realized that it was very difficult. But he wrote down the answers correctly. He said: "Hazrat Sahib was standing in front of me and was telling me: "Do this and do that", which were the answers to the questions in the paper."[3]

The saint helped when the follower was ill while taking the exams or when the proper qualifications for participation in the exams had not been fulfilled.[4] Often a disciple was, or felt, ill-prepared to sit an exam and had to be persuaded by the saint to take it.[5] As Shah 'Ali Anwar put it when approached by an undecided murid: "If in the coming year

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[1] Nizami, "Socio-Religious Movements in Indian Islam", p. 110.

[2] J.E. Walsh, *Growing Up in British India: Indian Autobiographers on Childhood and Education under the Raj*, Holmes & Meier, New York and London, 1983, pp. 39, 41.

[3] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, pp. 616-7.

[4] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, pp. 702-4, 742-3.

[5] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 479.

some other God will be here who can help you, then postpone it [the exam]. Otherwise do it this year."[1] As the educational structures of English schools were adopted by indigenous institutions, exams in which saintly support was needed began to plague students also there.[2] The future prosperity and status of not only the individual taking the exam but also of his family depended on his passing and attaining the necessary qualifications.[3]

Often it was not enough, however, to pass. Also "the degree of success achieved, how high one had ranked among other students ... [became] a major determinant of one's life and success."[4] "After sitting the exam for the wakilat at the High Court of Hyderabad," Munshi Hasan Riza asked his saint:

> "Among the successful candidates on which place is my name?" Shah 'Ali Anwar Qalandar answered: "On second place." The next day came the letter from ... [his] relative Mi'raj al Din from Hyderabad telling ... [him] that ... [he] had come second in the exam. ... [He] said: "I want to be the number one, which means the wakilat at the High Court." Shah 'Ali Anwar said: "You will get it." Therefore after a few days ... [he] became wakil at the High Court.[5]

To come first in an exam or to score high marks could also mean that one was excused from taking the next qualifying exam.[6]

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 530.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 633.

[3] The psychological anxiety which students experienced before the exams was expressed in many ways: some students were completely taken over by panic and were unable to study in the days before the exam, others attempted to injure themselves so that they did not have to sit them. A further group developed sets of rituals which were to ensure the eventual success. See Walsh, *Growing Up in British India*, p. 48.

[4] Walsh, *Growing Up in British India*, p. 47.

[5] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 517.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 530.

Some of those who went to be educated in the 'English system' experienced tensions between the demands made upon them by the system and those responsibilities they felt they had towards their saint and culture. Munshi Wahaj al Din 'Uthmani was at school in Hardoi when he heard that his pir was very ill.

> It was the time of my Entrance Exam. In my heart I wanted to be with him [his saint] but because of the exam I did not go. Then he died. ... I laid down in the evening and slept. ... I had this dream: Someone said: "Now the dead body of the Prophet is ready for burial. Whoever wants to do ziyarat should do it now." ... I ran there and saw that the Prophet was resting on a sofa with a black blanket covering his face. While seeing this I noticed that there was also one English musical instrument on the table. As I took the instrument and played it the sound of many church bells came to my ears. And the room was filled with yellow light. With one loud bang just like a canon the floor of the room cracked open and one saint came out of the hole and sat down respectfully. The Prophet got up from the sofa. Filled with fear I fell to his feet saying: "Ya Rasul Allah." and began to cry. He put his hand on my back and said: "Son, have you died?" ... [1]

Munshi Wahaj al Din expressed his anxieties through his dream. While his pir was dead, here symbolized by the Prophet, he played an English instrument surrounded by the sound of (Christian) church bells. A conflict between the two value systems was going on within him. Cultural conversion was a threat with which each student had to deal. For Wahaj al Din the pull of his spiritual ties proved stronger.[2] He decided to stop his English education and returned to Kakori where he began an intense spiritual relationship with the successor to his pir, represented in the dream by the saint who came through the hole in the floor.

Another area of concern for the Muslim community was the introduction of new legal codes into the country from the 1860s onwards. The shari'a was left to deal with Muslim personal law only and even there the different criteria and workings of the British

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 517.

[2] See Chapter 2, 'Making Bai'at'.

justice system meant that it became Anglo-Muhammadan Law. The reasoning behind the new codified law was based on principles different from those in operation in Indian Muslim society before and henceforth it was not easily understood. A local newspaper stated:

> ... the laws framed by Government are very elaborate and not suited to the people in their present backward state. The cost of suits is very heavy and the people regard litigations as a mere game of chance.[1]

In the first few decades after the introduction of the new laws having anything to do with the courts was a mystifying experience in which the outcome of a case depended on luck and proper saintly protection rather than the facts of innocence or guilt.[2] The justice dispensed was seen as completely arbitrary, the positive outcome of a dispute was regarded as a lottery: it was very well possible that it could be you. A relative of Din Muhammad, the servant of Takiya Sharif, for example, had killed his sister-in-law and on being sentenced to death he appealed against the judgement. While in three cases similar to his the court confirmed the sentence of hanging, in this case it was commuted to five year's imprisonment - just as Shah Habib Haidar had predicted beforehand.[3] As witnesses were easily procurable for either side in a legal dispute and minor court officials could be persuaded to view events in a certain light, both sides had, if financially reasonably generous, equal odds in winning a case.[4]

Murids going to court always asked for an amulet from their saint to take his

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[1] *Hindi Pradip* (Allahabad), September 1891, UPNNR 1891.

[2] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, pp. 438-9.

[3] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, pp. 718-9.

[4] As examples see Paunchkouree Khan, *The Revelations of on Orderly*, Benares, 1866; and P. Woodruff, *Call the Next Witness*, 1945.

blessings with him. When this was not enough, for instance, when the power of the ta'wiz was cancelled out by a bribe for the judge, the saint would appear in a vision to his follower in court.[1] The saintly presence ensured that the case was decided in the murid's favour. In some instances, both parties in a dispute had received amulets from the same saint. It was then the saint's decision, not the judges, in whose favour things were decided.[2]

The inequity of the new laws and the machinery applying them were widely felt. Rashid Ahmad Gangohi of Deoband was of the opinion that British law did not reach the standards of justice of the ulama. He therefore allowed one follower of his to lie to the court of law "in order to conform to a standard of truth above that of British law." In another case he concurred with the escape from jail of a man wrongly imprisoned by the government.[3] Shah 'Ali Anwar expressed the saintly superiority to the British legal system in a more pictorial way. Asked to help in a dispute, Nawab 'Abd al Samad Khan when in court saw Shah 'Ali Anwar sitting with

> both his feet ... on the shoulders of the Judicial Commissioner. ... I could see the luminous face of Shah 'Ali Anwar clearly. And after a little while I saw that behind 'Ali Anwar there was another saint sitting on an even higher place. And after him I could see one saint after the other. I was wondering who these people were [when] suddenly Shah 'Ali Anwar disclosed to my heart that these were all the pirs of my shijra.[4]

With such saintly weight on his shoulders the judge could only decide in favour of 'Ali Anwar's murid. The system of justice imposed from above was not necessarily understood

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[1] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, p. 678.

[2] *Ibid.*, II, pp. 752-3.

[3] Metcalf, *Islamic Revival in British India*, p. 153.

[4] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, pp. 543-4.

or seen as fair by the ordinary follower. He had to make light of it within his own conceptual framework and in his need to master this strange new toy the saint was called upon to shorten the odds.

A feature of colonial rule in India was the increase in rural indebtedness. The settlement of land and the granting of sanads for it put for the first time mortgageable property into the hands of the landowners.[1] If they defaulted on their loans, however, they were in danger of losing their land as British courts were prepared either to transfer the property from debtor to creditor, if a valid mortgage bond was there, or to attach them until the debt was paid off.[2] The sajjada nashin of Salon, Shah Husain 'Ata, for instance, made use of the cash-for-land transactions on his own as well as waqf land and by 1876, 14 years after receiving the title deeds for the land, was found to be "involved to the amount of 60 or 70,000 rupees, ..." while "the villages belonging to the trust ... [had] been hypothecated and leased ...".[3]

Debt was a feature of all walks of rural society, from peasant to landlord. Often the money obtained was used for non-productive expenditure, like weddings or jewelry, with little chance of it being repaid. An indication of how wide-spread the problem of indebtedness was for the constituency of Takiya Sharif, Kakori, was that among the devotional exercises, awrad, recommended to followers were some especially designed

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[1] This is described in P. Gray, *Final Report on the Settlement of the Lucknow District*, 1898, p. 20:
"The very great increase in the value of land as security, one of the immediate results of the introduction of good government, created a fatal facility for borrowing."

[2] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, pp. 542-4.

[3] Memorandum of Mr. Carnegy, Commissioner of Rai Bareli, 19 July 1876, quoted in *Sayed Mahmud's Memorandum*.

for the increase of income and some for the eradication of debt.[1]

Tax and land revenue demands were also seen as arbitrary. Those murids living in Lucknow and other towns in Awadh, Kakori became a town area in 1874, had to get used to direct taxation for the first time, while those from whom land revenue was due obtained the help of the saint to have exemptions granted or withdrawn.[2]

The colonial state reorganised the administrative set-up of its territory and those disciples who worked for the government had to deal with new bureaucratic rules and procedures. These had been designed to ensure fairness in treatment for all and to prevent family connections and relations of patronage from continuing to be the means of advancement. For the government it became more and more important to manage its Indian employees through bureaucratic control. For the Kakori-shrine constituency which was largely drawn from the Government servant class, it was necessary to overcome the obstacles which their new employers were putting in their paths.

Among the measures employed to control the Indian part of the administration was the introduction of educational qualifications as a prerequisite for appointment to Government jobs. For instance, from the 1860s police officers had to pass a literacy test, from 1874 onwards, examinations were made compulsory for tahsildars, from 1877 a pass in the middle class vernacular exam was needed for appointment to any office of Rs. 10 and above, from 1882, every munsif had to pass the lower standard examination and could not expect to be promoted until he had passed the higher standard exam, and from the 1890s, all those wanting to become tahsildars or assistant tahsildars had to pass the

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[1] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, I, pp. 104-5.

[2] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, pp. 706-7. For the impact of taxation on the inhabitants of Lucknow see Oldenburg, *Colonial Lucknow,* chapter 5.

University Entrance exam.[1] Exams had to be taken and passed with all the traumas attached to them.[2] Personal influence and connection continued to play a role, however.[3] Khan Bahadur Munshi Taj al Din, for example, was helped by Judge Balishast, an acquaintance of his uncle, to find employment as manager in UP. He was then appointed as munsif without the necessary qualifications, which he acquired only once he was employed.[4] An obstacle of much larger dimensions than that of passing exams was, from 1900 onwards, the requirement to be able to read and write Hindi for appointment to even minor clerical positions.[5] Another method for breaking through webs of patronage was the regular transfer of government employees. This was, of course, also a source of tension for the murid if the place to be transferred to was not popular.[6]

In spite of all these checks power struggles in the lower Government offices continued. The British officers often did not have any knowledge about the undercurrents in their offices and at points of flux, when they went on leave or were transferred it became possible for office networks to further their own interests. Salamat 'Ali, the head accountant in the Court of Wards department in Lakhimpur-Kheri, found his position threatened by such an intrigue. The manager, Mr Sandilands, went on leave to England and the officiating replacement, Babu Durga Prashad, tried, unsuccessfully, to promote the

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[1] Robinson, *Separatism Among Indian Muslims*, p. 42.

[2] Petitions were sent to Government seeking exemptions from taking the exams. For instance, NWP&O, GAD (B), 155-6, January 1886, P/2676, IOR, and NWP&O, GAD (B), 106-7, February 1886, P/2676, IOR.

[3] See Robinson, *Separatism Among Indian Muslims*, pp. 44-5.

[4] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, pp. 529-30.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 613-4.

[6] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, p. 715.

son of the Deputy Collector with whom he was related, and who was assistant accountant, to the position of head accountant.[1]

The reformed administrative structure as well as the new educational and legal institutions were based on an understanding of society different from that in Islam. Traditional Muslim society was based on human networks; it was an interlinked community in which personal relations reigned supreme. "Islamic culture made considerable use of concepts which related individuals to other persons in society such as the father, the mother, the master ..."[2] This was, for instance, reflected in the close relations between teacher and student in the maktabs and madrasahs, in the personal intercessions of the judge in the courts and, of course, in the very intimate links between saint and follower. These 'personalistic' relations were the hallmark of Islamic societies. The colonial state, however, saw society as an impersonal machine. It consisted of aggregates constituted by individuals, a society of blocks.[3] As society was an impersonal machine so was the state, "a system of interrelated parts which operated mechanically."[4] The traditional Islamic concepts of the state was replaced by a depersonalised, bureaucratic structure. Yet while this system was imposed from above Indian society continued to interpret its rules and regulations in the light of their traditional understanding. Munshi 'Abd al Samad, sub-inspector of police, found himself suspended, threatened with dismissal and a cut in his pension as the result of what he considered his superintendent's personal animosity. It was through Shah Habib Haidar's intervention that no harm came

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[1] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, pp. 620-1.

[2] Mardin, *Religion and Social Change in Modern Turkey*, p. 11.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 12.

to him.[1] At times of friction, when the individual was facing the impersonal system of the state and decisions from above were interpreted in terms of like and dislike, i.e. human emotions, rather than neutral findings, recourse was had to the saint who through his support 'personalised' the bureaucratic structures.

Apart from all the structural and institutional changes brought on by colonialism Indian Muslims had to deal with the influx of a whole set of new ideas, habits and values. The threat of acculturation loomed large for those who from their schooldays onwards were exposed to western customs. One of the signs of acculturation was the adoption of the western dress. Rashid Ahmad Gangohi and Ashraf 'Ali Thanawi, following Shah 'Abd al 'Aziz, both found in their fatwas that Muslims in India should not wear the dress of Europeans. Once they were in the West though it became permissable, according to Gangohi, since western clothes were no longer a symbol of Christianity but were worn by everybody.[2] Shah Habib Haidar displayed similar feelings when he turned a murid from being enamoured with coat and trousers to hating them.[3]

Another area causing tensions was the question of accepting western food, drink and eating implements. Sir Saiyid Ahmad Khan found nothing in the Quran and hadiths which prohibited the eating of European food, even together with Europeans, as long as the meal contained no proscribed substances.[4] More conservative people, however,

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[1] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, p. 670.

[2] M.K. Mas'ud, "Trends in the Interpretation of Islamic Law as Reflected in the Fatawa' Literature of Deoband School: A Study of the Attitudes of the 'Ulama' of Deoband to Certain Social Problems and Inventions", MA thesis, Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, 1969, p. 47.

[3] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, p. 700.

[4] A.H. Hali, *Hayat-I-Javed (A Biography of Sir Sayyid)*, trans. D.J. Mathews, Rupa, 1994, pp. 155-8. Saiyid Ahmad Khan had written a treatise "On Eating Meals with the

condemned the adoption of western eating habits. The instances in which the saint chose to intervene were those in which forbidden things, for instance liquor, were being consumed.[1]

Not only Christianity and Christian missionaries posed a threat to Islam but also the spread of post-enlightenment thought and atheism. One of the worries for Muslim parents when they sent their children to English schools was that these provided no religious instruction (in Islam) but encouraged their students to assess rationally and methodically their religious heritage. Munshi Murtaza 'Ali Sandili experienced this in his own youth.

> During my college education my religious thinking became very bad and this pained my father. In the year in which I took my BA exam, after the exam I went to Kakori with my father for the 'urs. My father told Shah Habib Haidar about the weakness of my faith. He replied: "Do not worry. I will see how far he is in water." I was informed about this conversation. The same day some time later Habib Haidar went to the kitchen where I was looking at a book written by an atheist, written in English. Shah Habib Haidar asked me: "What book are you reading?" I told him clearly. After taking the book out of my hands he looked at the picture of the writer and he said: "He is a good man. Take [the book] and see." After this when I started reading the book, I began to question the logic of the writer in many places. And my leanings towards this kind of thought were removed after some time.[2]

Since school and work place were reputedly secular institutions it was up to the individual to impose his religious duties upon himself and to negotiate a manageable compromise between his responsibilities towards his religion and his work. Neither should

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'People of the Book'".

[1] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, p. 764.

[2] *Ibid.*, II, pp. 712-3.

the murid neglect his duty to pray,[1] nor was it advisable for him to be too punctual so as not too annoy his superiors.[2] Shah Habib Haidar advised his followers "one should give priority to the obedience and happiness of the officer [superior] and one should always remember this that the worldly boss is the reflection of the spiritual boss."[3]

Yet in spite of the influx of western habits, ideas and customs these did not make too many inroads into the Kakori constituency. The dangerous period in the life of a disciple was that of western education when young men were susceptible to foreign influences. These were generally warded off by initiating the adolescent men into the sufi order before they set off on their educational training outside the qasbah. Although the Kakori constituency was involved with the colonial state it was modernised only in regard to the work place. Home and qasbah life ran along traditional patterns. Those working in the various areas of the raj moved backwards and forwards between 'pockets of colonial modernity' and their comfortable indigenous settings.

These 'pockets of colonial modernity' were still within the saint's sphere of influence. It is in these pockets that we see the saint demonstrating his superiority to all features of colonial rule. It was here that the saint sat on the shoulders of the Judicial Commissioner illustrating the hold he had over the legal system. Shah Na'im 'Ata of Salon had the same sentiment of superiority in mind when he began one of his poems: "Soon the Islamic flag will be flying over Buckingham Palace ...".[4]

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[1] 'Alawi, *Gulshan-i Karam*, pp. 258-9: in this miracle story the saint causes the disciple's superior (English) officer to exhort him to pray.

[2] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, p. 688.

[3] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, I, pp. 411-2.

[4] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 5 June 1992.

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The deeds of the saint, his miracles, letters and sayings, accompanied the followers through all walks of life and through all historical periods. These saintly interventions were part of the fabric of daily life woven through all its sacred and secular aspects. The saints did not stand apart from the changes in society and the circumstances of murids' lives. Through their interventions they helped their disciples to master the hazards of modernity and the perils of colonial rule. They were able to respond to the newly arising challenges, particularly in the initial period of transition. It was only slowly, and well into the twentieth century, that the 'pockets of modernity' grew larger and that the saints were forced to operate in a narrower and narrower environment. They remained relevant for their followers as long as they continued to act as 'facilitators' mediating between different sources of authority and alleviating points of anxiety.

Chapter 6

Sufis and the Changing Ideological Environment

The nineteenth century saw the emergence of two developments which created an atmosphere less favourable to many sufi institutions. On the one hand there were a number of movements for the revival and reform of Islam and on the other there was the spread of western education and with it that of rational, post-enlightenment thought. The movements of revival and reform came into being in part as a response to the dislocation of the Muslim world in the period immediately preceding the colonial era and in part as a defence against the different cultural values championed by the colonial power. Western education was increasingly disseminated by the colonial state and was the necessary qualification for a growing number of jobs. By the late nineteenth century these two forces had come to exert pressure on sufism and its institutions from both within and without Islam.

Most of the reform movements, Deoband, the Ahl-i Hadith, the Ahl-i Quran but not their fore-runner, the movement of Saiyid Ahmad Barelwi, were concerned with enabling the individual to function as a Muslim by himself, in the absence of a political authority which could impose Islamic law and an Islamic way of life on him from above. The movements saw the reason for the decline of Islam in the degeneration of their faith as practised around them. The movements were scripturalist in that they went back to the earliest written sources of Islam, the Quran and hadiths, in order to rediscover the true faith. Man-made additions and adoptions of non-Islamic or non-Sunni practices had made it inflexible, unable to respond to the new challenges. All movements, therefore, rejected customary practices as well as Shia customs and beliefs. Sufism, however, was eschewed

in different degrees. Saiyid Ahmad Barelwi denounced the 'false sufism of the medieval shrines' but initiated his followers in his own sufi order, the Tariqat-i Muhammadiya (the Way of the Prophet), which emphasised external obedience to the law and not internal devotion; Deoband was opposed to the elaborate rites centring on sufi shrines which tied people to certain places at certain times making this expression of Islam only something similar to a local cult; the Ahl-i Hadith and Quran opposed sufism completely.

Those reform movements developed under colonial rule were concerned with making the individual responsible for living within the confines of the shari'a. The earlier movement of Saiyid Ahmad Barelwi had still been focused on establishing an Islamic state which would then enforce the shari'a for its residents. Deoband, the Ahl-i Hadith and Ahl-i Quran though sought to create people who embodied Islam. The premise was that the believer had direct access to God and therefore no need for sufi saints as intermediaries. The believer was also to have direct access to the Quran and the hadiths and these were translated into the vernacular in the nineteenth century, and printed. The believer 'willed' Islam on himself motivated only by his own responsibility and conscience. In Deoband's vision the individual Muslim was responsible for correcting his practices with the help of a single 'alim whom he had taken as his definite guide to the law. The law was seen as the most fundamental guide to the faith and the ulama began giving fatwas to the individual believer to guide him in all aspects of his life. As far as the Ahl-i Hadith and Ahl-i Quran were concerned the only recourse for the believer in determining what was correct behaviour was, respectively, to the hadith and Quran or the Quran alone. Both groups rejected the validity of the medieval law schools and advocated going back to the source texts and interpreting them literally and narrowly. A religious guide for the individual was not involved. What all three movements represented was a universal, self-

sufficient and 'protestant' form of Islam which could exist without the help of the state.[1]

The other development which influenced the outlook of many Muslims was the growing availability of, and need for, English education. While in many British Indian provinces Muslims considered themselves to be educationally backward, in the NWP, and especially Awadh, Muslims took comparatively greater advantage of education than the Hindu community. Depending on government service for their jobs, qualifications from English educational institutions became increasingly a necessity. In 1874/5 it was found that "the Mahomedans in Oudh are, in proportion to their numbers, far more ready than Hindus to accept the offer of state education." This applied to both vernacular and English schools. "The average excess of Mahomedans over Hindus in all schools combined amounts to 15 percent in proportion to the respective population."[2] Male Muslim English literacy rates in the NWP and Awadh for the period 1891-1931 lay consistently above those of Hindus. In 1931, for instance, 1.48 percent of all the Muslim males aged 5 and over were literate in English compared to only 0.84 percent of the Hindus.[3] Expressed in figures that meant 47,740 Muslims in UP could read and write English in 1931. In 1891 it had been 4,189.[4]

One of the Muslim attempts to integrate English education into Islam was the

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[1] For more information on the reform movements see Metcalf, *Islamic Revival in British India*, and Rizvi, *Shah 'Abd al-'Aziz.*

[2] *Annual Report of the Administration of the Province of Oudh, for the Year 1874/5*, p. 82.

[3] Taken from P.R. Brass, *Language, Religion and Politics in North India*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1974, p. 148 Table 3.4: *Male English literacy by religion in the United Provinces, 1891-1931 (in percentage).*

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 149 Table 3.5: *Male literate and illiterate populations of the United Provinces by religion, 1872-1931.*

establishment of the Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh. Founded by Sir Saiyid Ahmad Khan (1817-98) in 1875 it was designed to offer modern western learning taught in English but inclusive of Muslim religious education, something which had been lacking in the government and missionary schools and which had prevented many Muslims from sending their children there. The College imbued its students with an understanding of western values and produced, in the main, government servants; people who would be confident enough to meet and communicate with their colonial masters on equal social terms.[1]

The acquisition of western education led to an opening up of a different culture and mental outlook. Most Muslims studied the humanities, English Literature, Philosophy, History and the Law, absorbing new literary genres, western realism and rationalism. Their mode of thinking was changed towards the speculative and abstract while the secular philosophy they embraced was based on materialism which posed a serious danger to Islam. Students took on the "culture of critical discourse"[2] and began to look at society around them with new eyes, questioning the existing social and political structures. They charged the custodians of Islam in India with having created "a rigidly dogmatic framework of beliefs, rituals and practices which left little room for any kind of reasoned acceptance of religion".[3] Muslim students absorbed the ideas of liberty and democracy and the autonomy of the individual.

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[1] See D. Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation: Muslim Solidarity in British India*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1978.

[2] A.W. Gouldner, *The Future of Intellectuals and the Rise of the New Class*, Macmillan Press, London, 1979, pp. 8-44, quoted in Mardin, *Religion and Social Change in Modern Turkey*, p. 32.

[3] K.H. Ansari, *The Emergence of Socialist Thought Amongst North Indian Muslims (1917-1947)*, Book Traders, Lahore, 1990, p. 205.

Some turned towards socialism and communism in their search for the resolution of the conflict between their western education and the stifling practices of their community. Muslim socialists of the 1930s and 40s, for instance, came from qasbah-resident service families who had taken to western education in order to maintain their professional ambitions. They were drawn to socialism and communism because it provided a rational and closely-argued explanation of, and remedy for, the many problems facing them and their country. As interpreted by them it also harmonised with many of the basic values of Islam, like the emphasis on equality.[1] Others, like Saiyid Abul A'la Mawdudi (1903-1979), the founder of the Jama'at-i Islami which is part of the so-called 'Islamic movement', used these modern ideas and modes of thought to create a complete and all-embracing Islamic ideology. For the first time Islam was turned into an integrated system, the political expression of which was the theo-democracy.[2] Neither of these two developments left any role for sufis. English education among Muslims, therefore, tended to develop thought patterns and modes of understanding which separated these Muslims from parts of their cultural heritage, in particular its sufi aspects.

The Impact of Reform and Western Education on the Three Spiritual Traditions

What is remarkable is the relatively subtle impact which these two processes with their capacity to transform knowledge and understanding, had on religious practices and piety at the three shrines. In the case of Kakori, for instance, the practice of viewing its

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[1] See *ibid.* for more information.

[2] F. Robinson, "Mawdudi", *EI*^{2}, VI.

relics, the hair of the Prophet on his birthday 12 Rabi' al Awwal, the hairs of 'Ali, Hasan and Husain on 13 Rajab, and the Prophet's footprint at any time, was continued.[1] The sajjadas continued to perform milad celebrations and publishing books on milad sharif, while Shah 'Ali Akbar Qalandar wrote in defence of qiyam, the practice of standing at the mention of the name of the Prophet or one of his attributes in mawlud.[2] This was a custom which gave reformers particular concern in the late nineteenth century.

Equally, few concessions seem to have been made in the content of the 'urs celebrations. Food was blessed and distributed, the saints' tombs were adorned with cloths and lights, and the performances of qawwali for which the 'urs was famous continued.[3] Moreover, the content of those miracles of the different saints in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in which they demonstrated their power of seeing the unknown would suggest that they saw little need to sacrifice some of their most striking powers to the preferences of the reformers. It was entirely in keeping with this position that Shah 'Ali Anwar should have argued in favour of predestination.[4]

There are, however, some signs of sensitivity to the atmosphere of reform. It may be that it was always the practice of the sajjada nashins of Kakori not to wash the graves

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[1] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, I, pp. 10-1 fn.

[2] Interview with Dr.M.A. Alavi, 5 September 1992.
The books on milad are: Shah 'Ali Anwar, *Nafh al Tayib fi Zikr Milad al Habib*, *Zad al Gharib fi Manzil al Habib*, *Tasliyat al Fawad 'an Zikr Khair al 'Abad*, *Shumamat al 'Anbar fi Zikr Milad Khair al Bashir*.
Shah Habib Haidar, *Taskin al Fawad bezikr 'Abd al Milad*. Shah Mustafa Haidar, *Hamare Nabi*.
The book on qiyam is: Shah 'Ali Akbar, *Hidayat al Mutakalminin*, 1871/2.

[3] Letter from Dr.M.A. Alavi, 19 February 1994.

[4] Shah 'Ali Anwar, *Qawl al Mukhtar fi Masalah al Jabr we al Ikhtiyar*, n.d.; letter from Dr.M.A. Alavi, 25 April 1995.

and spread sandal paste over them, as is the practice of many sufi shrines in India, but this is certainly the case now.[1] Furthermore, although qawwali plays a central role in the ceremonies of their 'urs, the sajjada nashins are careful to emphasise that its practice is sober. They were complimented on this by Shah Sulaiman Sahib Phulwari:

> I was very happy to be present at your gatherings [for music]. By the grace of God, the gatherings were very clean and pure and without any dangers.[2]

More striking, perhaps, is the decline of Shia involvement in the ceremonies of the shrine, and particularly so given that the family are tafzilis, those who revere 'Ali more than other caliphs. Their great respect for 'Ali as expressed in the literature they produced, Shah 'Ali Haidar, for instance, planned seven books on 'Ali and wrote four. This attracted criticisms from the Sunni Muslim community as leaning too much towards Shia sentiments.[3] In the Nawabi period Shias were frequent attenders at the shrine, as was often the case elsewhere in Awadh.[4] By the middle of the twentieth century Kakori town had given up its Muharram celebrations and Shias were regarded as unlikely visitors to the shrine.

The impact of western knowledge is harder to gauge. In the mid-nineteenth century, as we have seen, the shrine's constituency was in large part formed by members of the service classes. The miracles of the saints tell us that as this class took to English education Takiya Sharif's sajjada nashins were still thought to be able to intervene in that

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[1] Letter from Dr.M.A. Alavi, 19 February 1994.

[2] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, p. 877. For Shah Sulaiman Phulwari see Chapter 2, 'Court of the Saint'.

[3] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, pp. 822, 877-8. Letters from Dr.M.A. Alavi, 10 January and 19 February 1994.

[4] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, I, p. 279.

education system and provide the necessary examination results. Beginning in the 1930s, however, the shrine no longer seemed to be able to draw the loyalties of the service-class youth as before. Some of the withdrawal from the shrine may be ascribed to the impact of exposure to post-Enlightenment thought, as expressed through the movements of modernism, atheism, the progressive writers movement or the Islamist movement. Other aspects which played a role in loosening the saintly links were more mundane processes such as the tendency of the service class to be posted further and further away from Awadh and the great dispersal of support which came with the migration of partition. Now Takiya Sharif, Kakori, has a new meaning for the widespread community that remember it, less as a source of blessing on this earth and more as a concentrated symbol of an idealized homeland.

If any shrine was going to be the target for the reformers it was Salon. Here the 'urs was celebrated with all the required paraphernalia: sama', sandal, chadar and gagar processions and because it took place during the first ten days of Rabi' al Awwal milad ceremonies in which qiyam was a feature were also a part of it.[1] Up to the 1960s the 'urs had also included the viewing of the relics, the hair and footprint of the Prophet and the hand imprint of 'Ali as well as the paintings of the various sajjada nashins.[2] Here 'Id during which the shrine was the focal point of the town was celebrated with sama' too. The festivities also included a Hindu bird catcher releasing a dove for each male member

[1] For a description of the 'urs see Chapter 3, 'Court of the Saint'.

[2] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 16 November 1991. See also the 'Urs invitations for the years 1914 and 1915. The viewing of the relics had to be discontinued due to their disappearance.

of the saint's family and a kingfisher for the sajjada nashin.[1] Here the sajjada nashin acknowledged, even if not actively participated, in the local and Hindu festivals of Basant, Gudia, Holi and Diwali.[2] There was, of course, Muharram too.

It was therefore not surprising that Saiyid Ahmad Barelwi should visit the khanqah on his journeys through north India between 1819 and 1821.[3] His forays into the Awadhi countryside had two aims, he was looking for men and money to support his intended jihad and he was exhorting Muslims everywhere to leave popular customs and embrace a more shari'a-based form of Islam. He was not successful with either mission in Salon. Shah Karim 'Ata, according to family tradition, told him: "Feeding the poor and needy is a better service to God than going on jihad." and took no notice of his sayings.[4] Muslims in Awadh generally took less notice of Saiyid Ahmad's movement than those in the western part of the present-day UP.[5]

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[1] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 5 June 1992. According to the family the kingfisher (Neelkunt), a brown bird with bright blue flashes, is in the Hindu tradition an incarnation of Shiva.

[2] Basant is the spring festival. In Salon during the time of Shah Na'im 'Ata female singers used to come early in the morning to the khanqah with unripe wheat and mustard flowers to great the day of spring. There would be qawwali in the khanqah.

Gudia meaning doll or female child in Hindi is celebrated in August during the rainy season. Hindu men from the surrounding localities moved about holding sticks decorated with threads and coloured paper. They beat the sticks on the ground. This procession was accompanied by young men who acted as wrestlers. The procession stopped off at the khanqah on its way.

On Diwali families of Salon sent trays of sweets to the sajjada nashin and on Holi people came to the shrine and put some colour on his dress.
Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 20 January 1992.

[3] Rai Bareli is located c. 20 miles from Salon.

[4] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 22-23 August 1992. According to Rizvi, *Shah 'Abd al-'Aziz*, p. 479, Shah Karim 'Ata "asked the Saiyid to pray that those innovations which were the legacy of early sufi *pirs* and had no shari'a basis might be eradicated."

[5] Cole, *Shi'ism*, p. 236.

There were no further direct encounters with reform movements according to the family. Still, a certain sensitivity to reformist sentiment could be noted in the involvement of the sajjada nashins with the study of hadith. Hadith study gained a new impetus in India as a result of the work of the family of Shah Wali Allah Dehlawi (1703-62). The Shah's emphasis on hadith, which he had studied at the famed school of Ibrahim al Kurani in Medina, was part of his general concern to strengthen and consolidate Islam in India. Shah Wali Allah's descendants continued the emphasis on hadith scholarship, an emphasis which was a particular concern of all Muslim reform movements, not least among them the Ahl-i Hadith. So great was the focus on the hadiths that even scholarly traditions outside the ambit of reform, like that of Farangi Mahal of Lucknow from the nineteenth century, gave greater attention to their study.

Hadith scholarship had been a feature of a number of Salon's sajjada nashins. Shah Panah 'Ata, for instance, had been a muhaddith who wrote commentaries on the hadith.He stood also in correspondence with Shah 'Abd al 'Aziz (1746-1824), the son of Shah Wali Allah. Shah Na'im 'Ata was a hafiz-i hadith having memorised 5,000 traditions of the Prophet. He had received a sanad certifying his command of the hadiths from Shaikh Muhsin al Ansari Yemeni. Family history recalls the shaikh from Yemen as an important hadith scholar whose most famous disciple in India had been Nawab Siddiq Hasan Khan of Bhopal.[1] Bhopal had been a centre for many ulama from Yemen who were spreading (so-called) Wahhabi thought from there.[2] Nawab Siddiq Hasan Khan himself was one of

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[1] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 22-23 August 1992.

[2] Saeedullah, *The Life and Works of Muhammad Siddiq Hasan Khan, Nawab of Bhopal (1832-90)*, Karachi, 1973, p. 13.

the leading proponents of the Ahl-i Hadith in the nineteenth century.[1] Shah Na'im 'Ata was the one of the Salon sajjada nashins who was prepared, on occasion, to abandon his inherited law school and like the Ahl-i Hadith use ijtihad to determine his own view of the law. He disagreed, for instance, with the Hanafi school on the issue of divorce. For him divorce proceedings administered in one sitting were not valid; three separate sittings were necessary to make a divorce final and binding. He wrote a booklet on the subject which in its Arabic version was published by Jamiya Sulafiya, an Ahl-i Hadith institution in Benares.[2] For the sajjada nashin of a sufi shrine deeply enmeshed in 'unreformed customs' this was a surprising stance.

The development of western education had a different impact on the Khanqah Karimiya from that on other shrines. Due to the composition of its constituency and its location English education was of no great consequence to the development of the shrine. It was the quest for money to be used in educational ventures which threatened the sajjada nashin. While Muslim participation in education was above the relative community percentage in Awadh and NWP, in many other Indian provinces Muslims failed to make use of education which therefore disadvantaged them in gaining government jobs. The spectre of Muslim educational backwardness began to haunt Government; it was discussed in the Education Commission 1881-2 and was the subject a special review caused by the

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[1] Nawab Siddiq Hasan Khan (1832-1890) had married Nawab Shah Jahan Begam, the ruler of Bhopal. In his view the Islam of the time of the Prophet had to be rediscovered without the impurities which had crept in over time. For that he returned to the sources of Islam, the Quran and the hadith collections, to determine himself what were the principles of the faith and to apply these to modern times. Only an Islam which was 'alive' like that could in his view survive. A. Ali, "Nawwab Siddiq Hasan Khan of Bhopal: A religious Thinker and Reformer", *Islamic Culture*, 58:1 (1984), pp.23-29.

[2] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 22-23 August 1992. Its Urdu version was published in the journal *Islam Awr Asr-i Jadid* from Jamia Millia, Delhi.

"Memorial of the National Muhammadan Association of Calcutta" in 1882. As a result Government began to look for "any endowments, in regard to which the Government could interfere, which are not properly utilised in Muhammadan education."[1] The Salon waqf was the only possible instance cited in the NWP&O. Salon was put forward because the 1862 sanad, which granted lands to the shrine, made the application of the income to the buildings and the school a condition of the grant.[2] The inquiry which ensued lasted from 1883 to 1887; that it was followed with such intensity was the result of the involvement of Saiyid Mahmud (1850-1903) in it. Son of Sir Saiyid Ahmad Khan, founder of the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh, he was a keen advocate of education and especially English education for Muslims. He had been a member of the Education Commission 1882. He was also the District Judge of Rai Bareli. He argued for diverting nearly two fifths of the income for educational purposes the nature of which would be "any system of teaching which, whilst imparting religious instruction, would also include subjects of education urgently needed for the prosperity of the Muhammadan community in British India."[3] During the four years of inquiry in which Saiyid Mahmud made use of his (personal) connections with two of the commissioners in charge of Rai Bareli to pursue his case, the amount to be used for education was reduced from Rs. 8,000 to 3,000 while the system of teaching was allowed to be the traditional one, using

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[1] "Extract from Note on Memorial from the National Muhammadan Association, Calcutta", in "Maladministration of the Salone endowment, Rai Bareli District", NWP&O, GAD, List 25A, Serial 34, File 102, Cover 10, UPSA, Lucknow.

[2] *Sayed Mahmud's Memorandum*, Appendix C.

[3] *Sayed Mahmud's Memorandum.*

"Muhammadan classics".[1] Shah Mahdi 'Ata in the face of this concerted attack sought legal advice and petitioned the Government. The threat to the endowment which included the removal of the sajjada nashin from the management of the waqf did not succeed. But right up to the management scheme framed by the Court in Rai Bareli in 1953 the emphasis on "the promotion of Mohammadan education" is in evidence.[2]

The sajjada nashins of the Khanqah Karimiya seemed to have a 'split-personality' in regard to the reform movements. On the one hand they conducted unreformed rituals while on the other they made use of some of the tools advocated by the reform movements. Their approach depended on which audience they were dealing with. The local constituency was overwhelmingly Hindu and non-western educated who were drawn to the many (mixed) customs of the shrine. The sajjada nashins in reaching out to this group had to fulfil their expectations, furthermore these expectations were also based on the landlord-tenant relationship. When dealing with the educated Muslim elite the sajjada nashins showed some sensitivity to the issues of reform. In their scholarly output they were addressing an educated audience at large. In looking at the writings of Shah Na'im 'Ata, for instance, up to 1916 fifteen of the twenty three books he produced were in Arabic. Eight were in Urdu of which five were compilations of poetry.[3] This clearly indicates the two groups they were catering for. Miracles were another issue on which the sajjada nashin and his family were divorced from their followers. While the local

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[1] Letter of H.B. Harrington, Commissioner, Rai Bareli District, 5 April 1887, in "Maladministration of the Salone endowment, Rai Bareli District", NWP&O, GAD, List 25A, Serial 34, File 102, Cover 10, UPSA, Lucknow.

[2] Management Scheme for the Khanqah Karimiya, Salon, framed by the Civil Judge, Rai Bareli, 1953, Salon Archive.

[3] 'Alawi, *Tarikh*, pp. 268-9.

constituency was ready to see miraculous events in many happenings the sajjada nashin and his family were much more hesitant to point to any miracles and had adopted an attitude of toleration when dealing with the following.[1] The different approaches taken by the saints were based on the location and constituency of the shrine of which the latter was split into local and national groups.

The spiritual tradition of Warith 'Ali Shah in its ritual was not influenced by the reform movements. During his lifetime Warith 'Ali Shah celebrated milad honouring the Prophet with qiyam, giyarhwin, the feast on the 11th of each month in the name of 'Abd al Qadir Gilani and Muharram when he stood up whenever a ta'ziya passed by his house. In the first part of his life he professed a great passion for sama', in his prayers he was not always regularly.[2] He also set up the Mela Katik as the 'urs of his father. Warith 'Ali Shah initiated people of all creeds into his silsila without making conversion a precondition. After his death his grave became the centre of attention in his cult; it presided over sama' sessions, people prayed to it and took bai'at from it. The 'urs after his death became also an extensive affair involving sama', ghusl, sandal, milad celebrations, chadar processions, fireworks as well as a telling of the story of Karbala. All these things were, of course, anathema to the reformers who opposed Sunnis performing Shia and Hindu customs. The Deobandis opposed the celebration of special days like milad or 'urs. But most of all they opposed the elevation of the grave to a central position. Elaborate tomb structures were compared to idol worship as was the praying to graves.

Warith 'Ali Shah's spiritual tradition was more influenced by the increasing western presence and western modes of thinking. His spiritual behaviour, a model of the

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[1] Personal communication from Dr.S.Z.H. Jafri, January 1992.

[2] Siddiqi, *Mishkat*, pp. 108-10; Husain, "Nineteenth Century Saint", pp. 129, 139.

classic sufi saint, was also Christ-like in its emphasis on love, endurance, humility, modesty and self-negation.[1] Increasing Christian missionary activity which during the late nineteenth century had stimulated increasing Hindu missionary activity was seen as a threat to Islam. Warith 'Ali Shah saw the way forward in accepting the common virtues of the different religions and in guiding his followers to their ultimate goal within their own traditions. His religious all-inclusiveness took the sting out of the threats of the rival religions. A comparison to Ghulam Ahmad of the Ahmadiya might not be too far fetched. But while Ghulam Ahmad in responding to similar threats only appropriated his rivals' clothes, in claiming to be the Christian Messiah, the final incarnation of the Hindus and the Mahdi of the Muslims, in Warith 'Ali Shah's case it were the disciples who pressed such clothes upon him.

In his activities Warith 'Ali was, however, more or less confined to the spiritual domain. He dealt in the main with spiritual problems and religious issues located in the private sphere. He was concerned to reform a follower's behaviour but not necessarily to smooth his path in public life. His was religion removed from the state and the public arena, it was religion which each individual imposed on himself privately. His appeal to those from other religions and from western educated backgrounds was exactly that. They could accept his fundamental tenets and his guidance along the spiritual path and the faith which he advocated did not necessarily intrude into public life.

In spite of his traditional sufi sainthood the structure which was created after his death to support his cult was the only truly modernised one of the three shrines looked at here. After the death of Saiyid Ibrahim Shah, who had acted as sajjada nashin after the death of Warith 'Ali Shah, the English-educated part of the constituency went to court to

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[1] See Chapter 4, 'The Founding Story of the Spiritual Tradition'.

have a system of management instituted which broke with traditional precedents. Management by elected committee made the institution, on the one hand, flexible and responsive and, on the other, accountable to the electorate who had donated money or land, or both, to the Trust. This has to be seen against a background where many (educated) Indian Muslims felt concern about the alleged misuses of endowments in which the manager was left without any proper supervision and the income was not devoted to the wishes of the founders. This concern was reflected in the number of proposed bills attempting to remedy the lack of supervision and the number of newspaper articles dealing with the issue.[1] In the case of the tomb of Warith 'Ali Shah there was no immediate male relative left to claim the hereditary right of succession, there was among the following a number of British officials and other Europeans, and there were some influential English-educated disciples in high judicial positions who knew the law and had the resources and the connections to pursue their undertaking in the various courts. The cult of Warith 'Ali Shah had been taken over by the English educated and the 'traditional element' lost out.

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Both Muslim reform movements and western education left some imprint on the three shrines. The extent to which this happened depended on the composition and location of the constituencies involved. The impact of the reformers was not very visible in the customs and rituals of the shrines nor in the feast days they kept. Those were 'expected' celebrations which strengthened the bond between sajjada nashin and disciples, between shrines and the wider community. There might, however, as in Kakori be a

[1] See Chapter 4, 'Succession and Sajjada Nashini'.

greater emphasis on sobriety in the celebrations conducted. The impact was more visible in the scholarly activities of the sajjada nashins who addressed issues under discussion in the Muslim community in their writings. And who might, as in Salon, employ tools of the reform movements in their approach to the law. English education had the most dramatic impact on Dewa Sharif. There the whole development of the posthumous cult of the saint was shaped by western ideas and outlook. On the whole though western education did not begin to make an impact until well into the twentieth century at a time when other events shaped the development of the shrines to a much larger extent.

Conclusion

The three shrines we have examined fared differently in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Each one of them had to respond to the growth of 'modernity' in India and to the development of Islamic movements of reform. Each of the shrines, too, had to cope with the major events of the period, with the demise of Muslim rule and the imposition of colonial government, with Independence and Partition, and with land reform. How the saints and the shrines came to terms with these developments has been the focus of this thesis.

Both Takiya Sharif, Kakori, and the Khanqah Karimiya, Salon, were more affected by the events of the twentieth century than Dewa Sharif. Takiya Sharif was a shrine for the service classes. Its saints came from a service-class family, its constituency was largely drawn from the service classes and it was located in a service-class qasbah. The saints operated in a literate environment expressed through the emphasis they put on scholarship and the large quantity of books they produced. The spiritual tradition they were propagating became increasingly internalised, the emphasis was on moderation and restraint and not external show. The shrine had no great land holdings and was dependent on its constituency for financial and material support. Because of the close links between the shrine and its constituency in terms of funding and social class the shrine was particularly affected by Partition in 1947. It was the service classes especially who migrated to Pakistan and who were then not able to either visit the khanqah or to contribute to its upkeep. With many of its supporters gone the shrine became concerned

to maintain the achievements of the preceding period. The emphasis came to be on conservation, on maintaining the traditions of the past, and not on expansion.

The Khanqah Karimiya was faced with slightly different problems in the twentieth century. Being a landed sufi establishment in an overwhelmingly rural Hindu area its constituency was drawn largely from the immediate Hindu and Muslim agricultural community. The khanqah belonged to the Chishti order and accommodated in its ritual symbols and practices which appealed to its Hindu constituency. The shrine had received land grants from the Mughal emperors, the Nawabs of Awadh and important local officials and landlords. Its income was derived from the land and not its constituency. Feudal authority became part of the spiritual tradition of the shrine; the saints wore the hats of both spiritual and landed lord. Partition affected the khanqah only to a limited degree. Parts of the saintly family went to Pakistan. What affected the shrine, however, was land reform in the early 1950s. The income of the shrine was drastically reduced and the saints became much more dependent on their constituency. A second blow to the shrine was the protracted litigation over the office of sajjada nashin which undermined the position of the khanqah and the authority of the sajjada nashin. Some of the customs and ritual of the shrine came to be discontinued during the legal dispute. By the early 1990s the saintly family was concerned to consolidate the shrine's position, both economically and spiritually.

The Haji Waris Ali Shah Mausoleum Trust, Dewa, was better equipped to deal with the upheavals of the twentieth century. The spiritual tradition of Warith 'Ali Shah was a relatively young one and operated, like Deoband, outside the framework of the

state. The constituency of the saint was widely spread in terms of creed, caste and wealth. The message spread was that of religious tolerance and spiritual all-inclusiveness. Through forbidding any official succession to take place Haji Warith 'Ali Shah prevented his original message from being altered. It allowed also for the more vocal part of his following to set up a trust with a bureaucratic framework which proved more stable and more flexible in dealing with the challenges of the twentieth century. The Trust had some land given to it as waqf and it relied, too, on donations from its constituency. Partition and land reform had some impact on the Trust but because it had a large Hindu following and was not completely tied to land it managed to maintain its position. Over the last two decades the activities of the Trust have expanded considerably, new rituals have been incorporated into the 'urs proceedings, new followers have been attracted and new buildings have been erected. The Trust has been successful in adapting to the changing times.

We need to consider how sufism has been affected by the growth of 'modernity' in India. In many instances sufi shrines represented 'time capsules' in which the customs and traditions of an earlier age were continuing relatively unaffected by the changes in the country at large. The follower who, for instance, travelled from Hazratganj in Lucknow to Takiya Sharif in Kakori traversed more than just the spatial distance. He moved also back in time. While the city was the location of 'modernity', a place infused by modern technology, bureaucratic institutions and person-to-system relations, the shrine was the repository of the past, of pre-modern forms of organisation and of person-to-person relations. The passage from one world to another was symbolised by a number of

transformations. There was, for instance, the question of dress. The dress code for the shrine was Indian clothes. The follower approached his saint in indigenous clothing whatever he might be wearing in the outside world. In the words of Shah Habib Haidar: "For this place wear one or two sherwanis and pyjamas."[1] The saint himself wore Nawabi dress. In Kakori the male members of the saintly family continued to wear the angarkha, the dress of the elite in Nawabi Awadh, during celebrations at the khanqah. There was also the question of language. The lingua franca of the khanqah was Urdu interlaced with Persian and Arabic. A follower communicated with his saint in the vernacular regardless of whether English was his usual idiom. Shah Habib Haidar, for example, did not like hearing English words in the khanqah.[2] The shrine remained in many ways a manifestation of the past, an anachronism in the modern world. It was one of many 'time capsules' existing in India, religious traditions which had moved out of harmony with the over-all development of the country but which remained alive within their own structures.

Not all sufi institutions, however, were receptacles of the past. There were also those which made use of features of 'modernity'. Haji Warith 'Ali Shah in denying a succession to take place cleared the way for that part of his constituency which operated in the 'modernised world' to devise a novel scheme of management for his tomb. Bureaucratic structures and modern procedures were seen to guarantee a greater level of stability than charismatic succession. Through denying the succession Warith 'Ali Shah also prevented his later followers from operating in a typical sufi person-to-person

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[1] 'Alawi, *Habibi*, II, p. 700.

[2] 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 650.

relationship with their saint; what he forced them to do, whether he intended it or not, was deal with a systematised, bureaucratic structure.

A side-effect of 'modernity' as it was introduced by the colonial state was the 'secularisation' of public space. Under a Muslim ruler Islamic modes of conduct and symbols had dominated the public arena and religious rituals had ordered the day and life of every Muslim. Government, law, learning and medicine all were Islamic in origin and their rational substance was inseparable from religious theory. The colonial state introduced frameworks which were secular or drawn from Christianity. Islam and the enforcement of Islamic obligations was no longer the concern of the state, it became the concern of the individual. Islam, like any other religion, moved into the private sphere. The activities of the saint moved with it. The saints, as we have seen, made a valiant effort to stay on top of the new systems introduced into society and to advise their followers on all matters of concern. This was particularly so in the initial period of transition, the second half of the nineteenth century. Increasingly, however, their influence became limited to the private sphere.

The saints recognised this shift implicitly and were found to advise their murids to consult the proper secular authorities for a problem, even if the murids continued to look to the saint in the first instance. Shah 'Ali Anwar on being approached because of a law suit told his murid: "If you have a case, then consult your wakil or barrister. How can I help? My job is to pray."[1] Shah Na'im 'Ata, too, asked people who came to him

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 542. The disciple retorted to this statement: "The true help is coming from Huzur. And after him there is wakil and barrister."

with medical problems: "Why have you come to me? I am no physician."[1] A further indication of this shift can be found in the literature, in the growing number of miracles devoted only to spiritual matters. Over time the saints were consulted more and more about spiritual problems, religious practices, their own spiritual powers and religious doubts.[2] While the saints of the older spiritual traditions slowly moved into the private sphere, Warith 'Ali Shah's was located there from the beginning. He catered almost exclusively for his followers spiritual needs but was not concerned through his own interventions to smooth the path of his disciples in public life. The desacralisation of the public sphere and the retreat of the saint into private space and his shrine also meant a consolidation of his hold over that space and sphere. In the 'khanqah-time capsule' the saint's influence was dominant and the secular, modern state had no power at all.[3]

This is not to say that elements of 'Islam' retreated completely from public space. In the twentieth century the Muslim identity and Islamic symbols were to resurface in the public arena as platforms and tools for political parties and pressure groups. But rather than re-sacralising the public sphere they made use of its secularism which allowed all religions to compete in it on an equal footing. For Muslim interests it has proved to be an error, creating the permissive atmosphere in which the public arena could increasingly be colonised by openly Hindu political parties, brandishing Hindu symbols.

For sufis the piri-muridi relationship was the most fundamental person-to-person

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[1] Interview with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 5 June 1992.

[2] In the section listing the karamat of Shah Habib Haidar in the *Tazkira Habibi*, II, pp. 657-779, half the miracles described deal with spiritual problems and queries.

[3] See for instance, 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 541.

relationship.[1] It was the relationship of a student to his teacher, of a spiritual seeker to the dispenser of spiritual benefits, of a devoted slave to his master and of a lover to his beloved. At its centre was the intimate closeness between saint and follower. The saint with his knowledge of the unseen, 'ilm al ghaib, was aware of everything his disciple thought, said or did. The murid knew that his pir had penetrated his inner space, the pir was inside the follower, and the murid referred all decisions back to him. Such a relationship made for personal and psychological security, strength and stability within the disciple. When faced with difficulties the murid faced them with his pir and not alone.

Such a relationship continued to be of importance in the modern world. In a society where systems were emerging the saint, the knowledge of the saint's presence, helped the individual to negotiate the intricacies of a systems-based society. The follower was concerned to identify the people in the system so as to deal with them. The saint, according to the follower's perception, interacted on his murid's behalf with these new centres of power. The saint helped the disciple in his quest for 'humanising' the system.

An important shift had occurred, however, in the social function of the saint. While the idiom of looking after his disciple's interests was very much within the established patron-client relationship of saint and supplicant, the 'care-function' of the saint no longer took place in the public sphere. In a world in which religion had retreated from the public to the private arena and with it the saint's influence, he was no longer an

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[1] For an analysis of this relationship see also B.N. Nanda & M. Talib, "Soul of the Soulless: An Analysis of Pir-Murid Relationship in Sufi Discourse", in C.W. Troll, ed., *Muslim Shrines in India: Their Character, History and Significance*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1989, pp. 125-44.

active intermediary between his followers and the state or centres of power within society. This function had moved into the follower's mind. It was there that the murid saw his saint interacting with these sources of power. The saint was active in smoothing the follower's path in dreams and visions and thus reassured his murid. The social function of the saint had been redefined.

Sufism not only had to adapt to the changes in the public environment, the growth of the modern state, it also had to adapt to changes in the intellectual and hence mental environment of the Muslim community. As Islam had moved into the private sphere, and the activities of the Muslim saint had moved into the follower's mind, changes in the mental environment threatened the last resort of the saint. The spread of western education among Muslims led to a change in the mental outlook of the community. Western education encouraged its recipients rationally and logically to analyse their cultural and religious heritage. It reinforced the systematised world-view introduced into society. Rational, scientific post-enlightenment thought spelled the 'disenchantment of the world', scientific progress provided answers for questions previously taken to the saint. Western education forced the saints out the public sphere, too, it allowed them to act in the space labelled 'religion' but not to structure a person's whole world-view.

The Islamic reform movements, too, forced Muslims to re-think their religious practices. The movements were largely concerned for each Muslim to be able to access the religious primary sources and for each individual to be able to impose Islam upon himself. Each Muslim was seen as responsible for his actions and decisions. Through this empowerment Muslims were not supposed 'to hide' behind their saints and the notion of

predestination but were actively encouraged to make/influence their own fate. The need for saints as intermediaries in Islam was increasingly questioned. Many of the sufi institutions responded to this threat. They did so either by participating in the intellectual debate taking place in the Muslim community on such issues as the uniqueness of the Prophet and the possibility of predestination. They also responded by reforming or moderating some of their customs and rituals. To what extent this was undertaken depended to a large degree on the constituency of the shrine. The less affected the followers were by the message of reform the less the shrine needed to respond. The reformist movements though had moved the goal posts within Islam creating a new possibility of how to be Muslim, an option which it would not be possible to discard again.

Sufi saints had not only to contend with criticism from within Islam or from secular thought-processes but also with the threats posed by the aggressive spread of a new religion, Christianity. This was particularly visible in the sufi tradition of Haji Warith 'Ali Shah. Warith 'Ali Shah incorporated images and symbols from Christianity into it in order to combat the presence of missionaries. He was seen to absorb these images into his own fold drawing particularly on the persona of Christ.

All these developments forced the spiritual traditions to adjust in varying degrees to the changing environment. It encouraged, too, the marginalisation of Muslim saints within the Muslim community. Whereas once being a murid of a saint was an almost universal occurrence it has become one option among many. The reform movements and those Islamist movements born in the twentieth century, like the Jama'at-i Islami, offer

new ways of being Muslim while rational, scientific education and mental frameworks offer a new way of assessing religion and the world.

'Modernity' in India has forced sufi saints to reformulate their message and the ways in which they presented it. They could only continue to play a role in society if they adapted to their new circumstances and if they continued to provide a function within society.

Sufi orders around the world have had to adapt to the changes inherent in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Those which have been successful were those which found a niche in modern, or modernising, societies and adjusted to the new structures provided. In Senegal the Mouride sufi order succeeded because it developed in the economic sphere.[1] In Sind the pirs succeeded because they were co-opted into the political process.[2] And in Egypt the Hamidiya Shadhiliya was successful because it offered its followers stability and certitude in the social arena.[3] The sufi saints in both Senegal and Sind operated in the context of a relatively weak state which allowed them to erect alternative structures of authority within society. These guaranteed their followers stability in the economic, social and political spheres, all of which had been disrupted by colonial rule. In Egypt the sufi order had to operate within the context of a strong state tradition and adjusted consequently. It offered a 'sober and orthodox' version of sufism within a very bureaucratic set-up. While the sufi orders in both Senegal and Sind were mainly

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[1] Cruise O'Brien, *The Mourides of Senegal.*

[2] Ansari, *Sufi Saints and State Power.*

[3] Gilsenan, *Saint and Sufi in Modern Egypt.*

aimed at the rural population, both were tied to land and agriculture, the Hamidiya Shadhiliya existed in the city, in Cairo. It drew largely on white-collar workers and also some manual workers. It provided a sense of personal worth and security to lower middle-class people blocked in educational advancement who because of the nature of their jobs, mainly clerical, were not masters of their own fate. Adhering to the order allowed them to relieve some of the frustrations of their daily life. These three sufi orders adjusted to the newly imposed 'structures of modernity' and either used the new systems as in the case of the Mourides who dealt successfully with the economic order or the pirs of Sind who took hold of the political structures or they offered a niche for those inside the new systems but unable to cope with the contradictions within them and traditional concepts of society.

Of the three shrines in Awadh only one was relatively successful in the twentieth century. All of them took on the 'challenge of modernity' but only the spiritual tradition of Haji Warith 'Ali Shah remained relevant in post-independence India. Takiya Sharif, Kakori, was affected by Partition which saw most of its natural constituency migrate to Pakistan. Deprived of most of its following at the same time as the impact of western education began to be felt the shrine was unable to find a new role in society or a new constituency. The Khanqah Karimiya, Salon, was affected by land reform and the protracted struggle for succession. Deprived of much of its income the position of the sajjada nashin was undermined at a time when it became important for the shrine to attract more followers to come to the khanqah. The rural position of the shrine and the feudal elements in the spiritual tradition meant that it slowly moved out of harmony with

the surrounding cities and became less relevant to society as a whole. The spiritual tradition of Haji Warith 'Ali Shah being more widely based in terms of following and funding was better placed to overcome the problems of Partition and Zamindari Abolition. The message of Warith 'Ali Shah, too, was more pertinent to a society overwhelmingly Hindu and increasingly modernised. Because its organisational framework was bureaucratised it was more in harmony with the new structures within society. Similar to the Hamidiya Shadhiliya in Egypt the spiritual tradition had taken on aspects of modernity which ultimately allowed it to be more successful than the traditional shrines. While sufi orders were able to negotiate the 'pitfalls of modernity' they were unable to cope with either loss of constituency or loss of funding and authority.

Appendices

Appendix I. i

The Constituency of Takiya Sharif, Kakori:
Geographical Spread[1]

Shah Muhammad Kazim Qalandar

(1745-1806)

Akbarpur - Kanpur - UP
Amethi - Lucknow - UP
Bahraich - Bahraich - UP
Benares - Benares - UP
Bilgram - Hardoi - UP
Calcutta - Bengal
Dalmau - Rai Bareli - UP
Delhi - Delhi
Dewa - Bara Banki - UP
Etawah - Etawah - UP
Farukhabad - Farukhbad - UP
Faizabad - Faizabad - UP
Gorakhpur - Gorakhpur - UP
Kakori - Lucknow - UP
Kursi - Bara Banki - UP
Lahore - Punjab
Lucknow - Lucknow - UP
Mainpuri - Mainpuri - UP
Mani - Jaunpur - UP
Sandila - Hardoi - UP

at least two people went on hajj

[1] This appendix only aims to give an idea of the spread of the khanqah's constituency up to and inclusive of Shah Habib Haidar's time. None of the data supplied should be viewed as being finite. Listed are only the circumstances of those followers whose lives were written down. Many more people will have come from the area around Kakori, Malihabad and Lucknow.

Shah Turab 'Ali Qalandar

(1767/8-1858)
(sajjada nashin: 1806-1858)

Aligarh - Aligarh - UP
Allahabad - Allahabad - UP
Anupshahr - Bulandshahr - UP
Bahraich - Bahraich - UP
Banda - Banda - UP
Barar estate - Bihar
Benares - Benares - UP
Bhopal - Bhopal
Calcutta - Bengal
Chehza - Banda - UP
Delhi - Delhi
Etawah - Etawah - UP
Fatehpur Sikri - Agra - UP
Galawati - Meerut - UP
Gonda - Gonda - UP
Gorakhpur - Gorakhpur - UP
Gulbarga - Karnataka
Hamirpur - Hamirpur - UP
Hardoi - Hardoi - UP
Hyderabad - Andhra Pradesh
Kakori - Lucknow - UP
Kalpi - Jalaun - UP
Kanpur - Kanpur - UP
Khairabad - Sitapur - UP
Kursi - Bara Banki - UP
Laharpur - Sitapur - UP
Lahore - Punjab
Lucknow - Lucknow - UP
Machhlishahr - Jaunpur - UP
Mainpuri - Mainpuri - UP
Multan - Punjab
Murshidabad - Bengal
Nagina - Bijnor - UP
Orai - Jalaun - UP
Rampur - Rampur - Rampur
Salon - Rai Bareli - UP
Sandila - Hardoi - UP
Sitapur - Sitapur - UP
Unao - Unao - UP

at least four people went on hajj

Shah Haidar 'Ali Qalandar

(1791-1868)
(sajjada nashin: 1858-1868)

Allahabad - Allahabad - UP
Banda - Banda - UP
Bareilly - Bareilly - UP
Bharatpur estate - Bengal
Bhopal - Bhopal
Dewa - Bara Banki - UP
Etawah - Etawah - UP
Farukhabad - Farukhabad - UP
Hamirpur - Hamirpur - UP
Hyderabad - Andhra Pradesh
Kakori - Lucknow - UP
Kheri - Kheri - UP
Khurja - Bulandshahr - UP
Lucknow - Lucknow - UP
Mainpuri - Mainpuri - UP
Murshidabad - Bengal
Shahabad - Hardoi - UP
Shahjahanpur - Shahjahanpur - UP

Shah Taqi 'Ali Qalandar

(1798-1873)

Agra - Agra - UP
Aurangabad - Maharashtra
Azimabad - Bihar
Azamgarh - Azamgarh - UP
Bahraich - Bahraich - UP
Bundelkhand - UP
Baragaon - Bara Banki - UP
Bareilly - Bareilly - UP
Delhi - Delhi
Dewa - Bara Banki - UP
Etawah - Etawah - UP
Faizabad - Faizabad - UP
Gulbarga - Karnataka
Hamirpur - Hamirpur - UP
Hardoi - Hardoi - UP
Hyderabad - Andhra Pradesh
Jaipur - Rajasthan
Kakori - Lucknow - UP
Jalaun - Jalaun - UP
Kanpur - Kanpur - UP
Kasmandi - Lucknow - UP
Khalispur - Lucknow - UP
Kheri - Kheri - UP
Kol - Aligarh - UP
Kursi - Bara Banki - UP
Laharpur - Sitapur - UP
Lakhimpur - Kheri - UP
Lucknow - Lucknow - UP
Machhlishahr - Jaunpur - UP
Mainpuri - Mainpuri - UP
Malihabad - Lucknow - UP
Meerut - Meerut - UP
Muzaffarnagar - Muzaffarnagar - UP
Pilibhit - Pilibhit - UP
Rampur - Rampur - UP
Salon - Rai Bareli - UP
Shahjahanpur - Shahjahanpur - UP
Sitapur - Sitapur - UP
Sultanpur - Sultanpur - UP
Unao - Unao - UP

at least three people went on <u>hajj</u>

Shah 'Ali Akbar Qalandar

(1833-1896)
(sajjada nashin: 1868-1896)

Agra - Agra - UP
Amethi - Lucknow - UP
Bombay - Bombay
Delhi - Delhi
Etawah - Etawah - UP
Fatehpur Sikri - Agra - UP
Hyderabad - Andhra Pradesh
Kakori - Luckow - UP
Kanpur - Kanpur - UP
Khairabad - Sitapur - UP
Khalispur - Lucknow - UP
Lucknow - Lucknow - UP
Meerut - Meerut - UP
Muhamdi - Kheri - UP
Mallanpur estate - Sitapur - UP
Kanauj - Farukhabad - UP
Rampur - Rampur - UP
Saharanpur - Saharanpur - UP
Shahjahanpur - Shahjahanpur - UP

at least two people went on hajj

Shah 'Ali Anwar Qalandar

(1853-1906)
(sajjada nashin: 1896-1906)

Ajmer - Rajasthan
Aligarh - Aligarh - UP
Allahabad - Allahabad - UP
Amethi - Lucknow - UP
Aurangabad - Maharashtra
Azamgarh - Azamgarh - UP
Bahraich - Bahraich - UP
Balrampur - Gonda - UP
Banda - Banda - UP
Bara Banki - Bara Banki - UP
Baragaon - Bara Banki - UP
Basti - Basti - UP
Benares - Benares - UP
Calcutta - Bengal
Bhopal - Bhopal
Dehra Dun - Dehra Dun - UP
Dewa - Bara Banki - UP
Etawah - Etawah - UP
Faizabad - Faizabad - UP
Ghazipur - Ghazipur - UP
Gonda - Gonda - UP
Hardoi - Hardoi - UP
Hyderabad - Andhra Pradesh
Jalaun - Jalaun - UP
Kanpur - Kanpur - UP
Kardi - Banda - UP
Kasmanda estate - Sitapur - UP
Khairabad - Sitapur - UP
Khalispur - Lucknow - UP
Laharpur - Sitapur - UP
Lakhimpur - Kheri - UP
Lucknow - Lucknow - UP
Magrina - Kheri - UP
Mainpuri - Mainpuri - UP
Mahmudabad - Bara Banki - UP
Meerut - Meerut - UP
Mirzapur - Mirzapur - UP
Mohan - Unao - UP
Muhamdi - Kheri - UP
Mallanpur estate - Sitapur - UP
Muzaffarnager - Muzaffarnagar - UP

Orai - Jalaun - UP
Patna - Bihar
Rampur - Rampur - UP
Safipur - Unao - UP
Sandila - Hardoi - UP
Shahabad - Hardoi - UP
Sitapur - Sitapur - UP
Sultanpur - Sultanpur - UP
Unao - Unao - UP
Zamania - Ghazipur - UP

at least one person was on hajj

Shah Habib Haidar Qalandar

(1882-1935)
(sajjada nashin: 1906-1935)

Agra - Agra - UP
Aligarh - Aligarh - UP
Almora - Almora - UP
Allahabad - Allahabad - UP
Amethi - Lucknow - UP
Asansol - Bengal
Azamgarh - Azamgarh - UP
Bahraich - Bahraich - UP
Bayazidpur - Ghazipur - UP
Bhopal - Bhopal
Bombay - Bombay
Budaun - Budaun - UP
Chandausi - Moradabad - UP
Chandpur - Lucknow - UP
Daryabad - Bara Banki - UP
Delhi - Delhi
Dewa - Bara Banki UP
Diwaha - Kanpur - UP
Etawah - Etawah - UP
Faizabad - Faizabad - UP
Ghazipur - Ghazipur - UP
Gonda - Gonda - UP
Gorakhpur - Gorakhpur - UP
Hardoi - Hardoi - UP
Hyderabad - Andhra Pradesh
Jalaun - Jalaun - UP
Jaunpur - Jaunpur - UP
Kakori - Lucknow - UP
Kanpur - Kanpur - UP
Karhal - Mainpuri - UP
Khairabad - Sitapur - UP
Kheri - Kheri - UP
Lahore - Punjab
Lucknow - Lucknow - UP
Meerut - Meerut - UP
Muhamdi - Kheri - UP
Muzaffarnagar - Muzaffarnagar - UP
Nagpur - Maharashtra
Qalandarpur - Azamgarh - UP
Rampur - Rampur - UP
Rudauli -Bara Banki - UP

Safipur - Unao - UP
Saharanpur - Saharanpur - UP
Sandila- Hardoi - UP
Shahzadpur - Faizabad - UP
Sitapur - Sitapur - UP
Sultanpur - Sultanpur - UP
Unao - Unao - UP
Zamania - Ghazipur - UP

at least three people went on hajj

Sources: 'Alawi, *Usul*; 'Alawi, *Azkar*; 'Alawi, *Habibi*; 'Alawi, *Mashahir*; 'Alawi, *Sukhunwaran*; 'Alawi, *Gulshan-i Karam*; 'Alawi, *Nasim*.

The Constituency of Takiya Sharif, Kakori:

Professional Spread[1]

Shah Muhammad Kazim Qalandar

Zamindar [2]
Employee of Nawabs
Hakim
Qazi [2]
Soldier/military [2]
Munsif [2]
Chakladar
Sarrishtedar
Sadr Amin
Sadr al Sudur
Ambassador

[1] Again non of the data is finite.
Numbers in brackets behind jobs indicate the number of people pursuing each one.
(InS) means Indian State and indicates that this job was pursued there.

Zamindar
Trader
English Government Employee
Sadr al Sudur [2]
Military [2]
Caligrapher
Wakil [2]
Tahsildar [2]
Ass. Settlement Officer
Extra Ass. Commissioner [2]
Commissioner (InS)
Taluqdar [5]
Employee in Police Dept.
Wazir (InS)
Munsif [2]
Deputy Collector
Ass. Tahsildar [2]
Judge
Qazi [3]
Subadar (InS)
Ass. Fawjdar
Chakladar
Ambassador
Hakim [2]
Mir Munshi

Qualifications achieved:

FA: 2
SB: 2
Wakilat Exam: 1

Excise Dept.
Tahsildar
Hakim [2]
Wakil [3]
Government Employee
Government Employee (InS) [3]
Police Dept.

Qualifications achieved:

Wakilat exam: 3

Government Employee [3]
Ass. Subadar (InS)
Qazi
Deputy Collector
Sarrishtedar
Taluqdar
Munsif [2]
Sub-Judge
Judge (Small Cause)
Ass. Tahsildar
Sadr Registrar (InS)
Tahsildar [4]
Inspector of Abkari
Municipal Commissioner
Honorary Magistrate
Teacher
Wakil [4]
Judge (Session)
Employee on Estate
Mufti
Sadr Amin
Manager of State Printing
Press (Rampur)
Employee of Nawabs [3]
Hakim [2]
Settlement Dept.
Ass. Manager on Estate
Police Dept.
Honorary Ass. Collector

Qualifications achieved:

Entrance: 2
BA: 1
LLB: 1
Wakilat Exam: 4

Government Employee (InS)
Employee on Estate
Government Employee [2]
Teacher
Military
Wakil
Tahsildar
Hakim [2]

Qualifications achieved:

Wakilat Exam: 1

Ass. Director of Agriculture (InS)
Ass. Registrar
Circle Officer
Tahsildar [5]
Employee on Estate
Deputy Collector
Railway Dept.
Wakil [5]
Dept. of Court
Taluqdar [6]
Settlement Dept.
Zamindar [3]
Agricultural Dept.
Hakim [3]
Secretary to District Board
Military
Government Employee [4]
Government Employee (InS) [3]
Court of Wards [2]

Qualifications achieved:

Entrance: 1
BA: 1
Wakilat Exam: 5

Ass. Tahsildar
Education Dept.
Forest Circle (employee)
Hakim [6]
Government Employee [3]
Auditor in Cooperative Bank
Tahsildar [2]
Deputy Collector [3]
Education Dept. (InS) [2]
Taluqdar [2]
Police Dept. [4]
Government Employee (InS) [2]
Newspaper Editor
Agricultural Manager (InS)
Abkari Dept.
Manager of Parfume Factory
Chief Qanungo
Principal of Muslim College
Court employee [2]
Wakil
Dep. Superintendent
Barrister [2]
District Engineer
Ass. Schoolmaster
Inspector
Sub-Inspector

Qualifications achieved:

FA: 1
BA: 1
MA: 1
LLB: 1
Wakilat exam: 1

Sources: 'Alawi, *Usul*; 'Alawi, *Azkar*; 'Alawi, *Habibi*; 'Alawi, *Mashahir*; 'Alawi, *Sukhunwaran*; 'Alawi, *Gulshan-i Karam*; 'Alawi, *Nasim*.

Appendix I. ii

Teachers of the Founder and the Sajjada nashins of Takiya Sharif, Kakori

Shah Muhammad Kazim Qalandar[1]:

Hafiz 'Abd al 'Aziz, khalifa of Shah Muhammad Aqil Sabzposh who was the pir of Shah Muhammad Kazim's father

Mawlana Hamid al Din Muhaddith Kakorwi (primary books)

Mawlwi 'Ashiq Allah (sufism)

Shah Turab 'Ali Qalandar:

Shah Muhammad Kazim Qalandar (books on sufism and spiritual education)

Mulla Qudrat Allah Bilgrami, khalifa of Shah Muhammad Kazim Qalandar (primary books)

Mawlwi Mu'in al Din Bengali (primary books)

Mawlana Hamid al Din Muhaddith Kakorwi (the rest)

Qazi al Qazat Qazi Muhammad Najm al Din 'Alikhan Bahadur

Mawlwi Fazl Allah Niwatani (last volumes of Hidaya)

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[1] Two more teachers are mentioned in 'Alawi, *Azkar*, p. 334, and also 'Alawi, *Gulshan-e Karam*, p. 4, Mulla Hamd Allah Sandili (d.1747) and Mulla Ghulam Yahiya Bihari (d.1715). There is no mention of them in 'Alawi, *Usul*, p. 208-10, and as their death dates were before or around the time of birth of Shah Muhammad Kazim (b.1745) it must have been felt, in the twentieth century, that it was beneficial to have the founder of the sufi khanqah linked to two eminent scholars of the early eighteenth century.

Shah Haidar 'Ali Qalandar:

Shah Turab 'Ali Qalandar (spiritual education and books of sufism)

Shah Himayat 'Ali Qalandar (tafsir, hadith, mantiq, fiqh)

Shah Insh Allah Qalandar Kakorwi, khalifa of Shah Muhammad Kazim (spiritual education)

Shah 'Ali Akbar Qalandar:

Shah Turab 'Ali Qalandar (spiritual education)

Shah Taqi 'Ali Qalandar (tafsir, hadith, fiqh, mantiq, kalam, adab)

Shah 'Ali Anwar Qalandar:

Shah 'Ali Akbar Qalandar (spiritual education)

Hafiz Muhammad 'Ali Nabina Kakorwi (memorising the Quran)

Mawlwi Sharf al Din Sandili (primary Persian books)

Shah Taqi 'Ali Qalandar (tafsir, hadith, fiqh, mantiq, adab, kalam, tasawwuf)

Shah Habib Haidar Qalandar:

Hafiz Ghulam Muhammad (Persian)

Shaikh Ahmad 'Ali Khushnawis (handwriting)

Shah 'Ali Anwar Qalandar (tafsir, hadith, fiqh, mantiq, adab, tasawwuf, spiritual education)

Sources: 'Alawi, *Azkar*, pp. 333-4, 384-6, 421, 468-9, 492-3, 586; 'Alawi, *Habibi*, I, pp. 20-5, 29-30, 32-8; and 'Alawi, *Usul*, pp. 208-10.

Appendix I. iii

The Writings of the Founder and the Sajjada Nashins of Takiya Sharif, Kakori

Shah Muhammad Kazim Qalandar

1) *Ma'mur Dashtan-i Awqat* (Persian): a book of instruction written for his special companion Muhab 'Ali Khan. Shah Turab 'Ali copied in his two works *Usul al Maqsud* and *Matlab-i Rashidi.* An Urdu explanation was written by Mawlwi Muhi al Din Khan Kakorwi under the name *Tawsiq al Maqasid.* Published.

2) *Naghmat al Asrar* called *Santras* (Bhasha/Hindi): poetry in the format of thumrians about truth and recognition. Published.

3) his Maktubat (Persian): letters written to his murids and companions. To this was added the Maktubat of Shah Turab 'Ali and the whole was edited by Shah Habib Haidar under the name *Mufadizat.* (see books by Shah Habib Haidar) Shah Taqi Haidar selected some from these 200 letters (those concerning education and instruction of murids) and published them under the name *Ta'limat-i Qalandariya.* (see books by Shah Taqi Haidar)

1) *Asl al Ma'arif* (Persian): a mathnawi (poetry). Published.

2) *Usul al Maqsud* (Persian): lives of many Qalandar saints of the silsila and biography of Shah Muhammad Kazim. Published.

3) *Majma' al Fawaid*: about different aspects of sufism and prayers and practices.

4) *Fatih al Kunuz*: about the adab of shaikh and murid and about some matters of truth and recognition related to the writings of Ibn 'Arabi and others which had been revised by Shah Muhammad Kazim. It was edited by Shah Habib Haidar. Published.

5) *Maqalat-i Sufiya*: a collection of sayings of sufis as taken from the Tazkirat al Awliya and Nafhat dar Shahat etc. Published.

6) *Sharait al Wasait*: about the relations between pir and murid, bai'at etc. Published.

7) *Kashf al Matwari fi Hal Nizam al Din Qari*: the life of Makhdum Shaikh Nizam al Din Qari and his family. Published.

8) *Matlab-i Rashidi* (Persian): a book of instructions in which all areas of life are covered. Written for his murid Mawlwi Rashid al Din Khan. Published. Has been translated into Urdu with same title by Shah Mustafa Haidar. Published. (see books by Shah Mustafa Haidar)

9) *Mujahadat al Awliya* (Persian): the struggles and practices of the early awliyas and the men of the Qalandariya. Translated into Urdu by Shah Taqi Haidar and Mawlwi Muhammad 'Alam. Published.

10) *Asnad al Mashaikhat*: about the order of bai'at, about the khilafat and the wearing of the khirqah.

11) *Ta'lim al Asma*: gives all the prayers, awrad and surahs of the Quran with their permissions and conditions.

12) *Maktubat* (Persian): written to Amir 'Ashiq 'Ali Khan Bahadur Kakorwi, ambassador of the King of Awadh. It is about meditation, imagination, instruction in the way towards God, benefits from following the shari'a, different types of tawhid, difference between wujudi and shuhudi, etc.

13) *Kulliyat-i Urdu*: a collection of poetry

14) *Kulliyat-i Farsi* (Persian): collection of poetry. Published.

15) *Baharistan-i Turab* (Persian): collection of poetry. Published.

16) *Amratras* (Hindi): collection of poetry. Published by Shah Mujtaba Haidar Qalandar.

1) *Asl al Asul fi Biyan al Suluk wa Al Wusul* (Persian): about shari'a, adab towards the shaikh, ijazat and khilafat and bai'at. Published. Translated by Mushir Ahmad 'Alawi Kakorwi. Published.

2) *Hidayat al Mutakalimin* (Urdu): about the reasons for qiyam in the gatherings of Milad Sharif. Published. Second edition contained fatwas from the ulama in Mecca.

1) *Hawashi Mirzahad Mulla Jalal* (Arabic): it was written during his student days and are the sayings of Shah Taqi 'Ali which Shah 'Ali Anwar had himself explained. This collection was put together in book-form by Shah Taqi Haidar.

2) *Tahrir al Anwar fi Tafsir al Qalandar*: it gives an explanation of the word Qalandar and describes those buzurgs which had been appointed to high places.

3) *Tafsir Surah-i Yusuf*: it is about special love. It gives the explanation for only one small part and was left incomplete because the friend for whom he had written it died.

4) *Rashahat-i Anwari*: it is an explanation of the book Lama'at by Fakhr al Din Iraqi. It was edited by Shah Taqi Haidar and was made into a booklet. The name was kept. (see books by Shah Taqi Haidar)

5) a book containing four different booklets about Milad Sharif:

Nafh al Tayib fi Zikr Mawlud al Habib (Urdu)

Zad al Gharib fi Manzil al Habib (Urdu)

Tasliyat al Fawad 'an Zikr Khair al 'Abad (Urdu)

Shumamat al 'Anbar fi Zikr Milad Khair al Bashir (Urdu)

6) *Shahadat al Kunain fi Shahadat al Husnain* (known as *Shahadat Nama Kalan*, Urdu): this is the story of the martyrdom of Husain.

7) *Intisah 'An Zikr Ahl al Salah*: it is a life of the saints of the eight sufi orders, the Qalandariya, the Qadariya, the Chishtiya, the Suhrawardiya, the Taifuriya, the Madariya, the Naqshbandiya and the Firdawsiya. It was corrected and edited by Shah Habib Haidar and was published under the name *Aizah*. (see books by Shah Habib Haidar)

8) *Al Qawl al Muwajjah*: this is a study about tawhid and haqaiq, an explanation of many famous sayings. It was translated into Urdu by Shah Taqi Haidar under the name *Hidayat al Sharaf*. (see books by Shah Taqi Haidar)

9) *Al Fiyuz al Taqi fi Hal Mushkilat Ibn al 'Arabi*: this is an answer to objections raised about Ibn 'Arabi by the 'external' (i.e. the non-sufi oriented) ulama. It is an explanation of the writings objected to.

10) *Hawz al Kawthar fi Takmilat Rawz al Azhar fi Ma'sir al Qalandar*: this book was started by Shah Taqi 'Ali. He wrote about Shah Turab 'Ali and many other issues, for instance, sama', love for the family of the Prophet and his companions etc. After his death Shah 'Ali Anwar continued it. In its end he described the lives of Shah Haidar 'Ali and Shah Taqi 'Ali. It was edited and given a preface called *Muwahhab al Qalandar* by Shah Habib Haidar. (see books by Shah Habib Haidar)

11) *Ahsan al Afadat al Rabab al Arawadat* known as *Bai'at Zuja Ba Zuj*: it is an explanation of the problem of bai'at of he wife through her husband. Her bai'at is not implicit in that of her husband.

12) *Fatih al Absar*: these are answers to the questions which one buzurg of the Chishti order asked 'Ali Anwar. It was translated by Shah Taqi Haidar. (see books by Shah Taqi Haidar)

13) *Al Durrat al Baiza fi Tahqiq Sadaq Fatima al Zahra*: it is about the wives of the Prophet and his pious daughters and their mehr and the benefits of marriage.

14) *Kashf al Daqaiq 'an Ramuz al Haqaiq*: this is a collection of questions and answers about the problems of sufism. It was written on the enquiry of a believer. It was translated by Shah Taqi Haidar. (see books by Shah Taqi Haidar)

15) *Nakhbat al Sawarif fi sharh Khitbat al 'Awarif*: this is the detailed explanation

of one lecture of Shaikh Suhrawardi. It was translated by Shah Taqi Haidar. (see books by Shah Taqi Haidar)

16) *Zawahir al Afkar fi sharh Jawahir al Asrar*: it is an answer to questions asked by Shaikh Muhammad Maqim Hardoi. It has been translated by Shah Taqi Haidar. (see books by Shah Taqi Haidar)

17) *Al Dar al Yatim fi Iman Aba al Nabi al Karim* (Arabic): in this book the sayings of those negating the uniqueness of the Prophet are listed. Shah 'Ali Anwar summarized the reasoning and then proved that it was only verbal rhetoric and had no substance. This was also translated by Shah Taqi Haidar. (see books by Shah Taqi Haidar)

18) *Qawl al Mukhtar fi Masalah al Jabr wa al Ikhtiyar*: it is about the problem whether man is in control of his fate or not. It was translated by Shah Taqi Haidar. (see books by Shah Taqi Haidar)

19) *Tasfiya fi sharh al Taswiya*: an explanation of Taswiya which is the most difficult of the writings of Shah Muhab Allah Allahabadi. It was translated by Shah Taqi Haidar. (see books by Shah Taqi Haidar)

20) *Tanwir al Afaq fi sharh Tabin al Taraq*: an explanation of a book about Suluk by Shaikh 'Ali Mutaqi Jawnpuri. It was translated by Shah Taqi Haidar. (see books by Shah Taqi Haidar)

21) *Al Dar al Multafat fi sharh Tuhfat al Mursalat*: an explanation of the most important book of Muhammad bin Fazl Allah Burhanpuri. It was translated by Shah 'Ali Haidar. (see books by Shah 'Ali Haidar)

22) *Al Dar al Munazzam*: a life of Shaikh 'Abd al Qadir Gilani, it deals in detail with his family, his guides, his students, etc., and related issues.

Shah Habib Haidar Qalandar

1) *Futadai*: by Mawlana Muhammad Na'im Farangi Mahali Lucknowi, of which he had edited one part.

2) *Intisah 'An Zikr Ahl al Salah*: written by Shah 'Ali Anwar, a life of the saints of the eight silsilas. It was edited by Shah Habib Haidar and published under the name *Aizah.* Published. (see books by Shah 'Ali Anwar)

3) *Makatib Hasniya*: a collection of the maktubat of Khwaja Hasan Chishti Mawdudi Lucknowi and some other buzurgs.

4) *Nasab Nama Hazrat Saiyid al 'Urfa Shah Maja Qalandar Laharpuri*: Written by Shaikh Muhammad Afzal Laharpuri from the off-spring of Imam 'Abd al Rahman Janbaz Qalandar.

5) *Mufadizat*: the maktubat of Shah Muhammad Kazim and Shah Turab 'Ali. Published. (see books by Shah Muhammad Kazim)

6) *Fusul Mas'udiya*: written by Shah Mas'ud 'Ali Qalandar Allahabadi. The life of Shah Basit 'Ali Qalandar and his off-spring. This had been edited by him and he wrote a preamble called *Fiyuz Mas'udiya.* Shah Wilatyat Ahmad Qalandar Laharpuri helped with the editing.

7) *Shijra-i Khulifaiya*: edited with Mawlwi Shams al Din Hargami on the wish of Shah Wilayat Ahmad Qalandar. It gives the names of many khalifas. Published.

8) *Rawz al Azhar*: written by Shah Taqi 'Ali and completed as *Hawz al Kawthar* by Shah 'Ali Anwar. (see books by Shah 'Ali Anwar)

9) *Al Durrat al Baiza fi Tahqiq Sadaq Fatima al Zahra*: edited by him. (see books by Shah 'Ali Anwar)

10) *Al Dar al Munazzam*: a life of Shaikh 'Abd al Qadir Gilani. Edited by him. (see books by Shah 'Ali Anwar)

11) *Al Kalimat al Baqiya fi al Asanid wa al Musalsalarat al 'Awliya* (Arabic): about the shaikhs from which he had received a sanad of knowledge.

12) *Tanwir al Hayakil bezikr Asnad al Awrad wa al Silasil* (Arabic): about the meditation exercises and the ijazat in the orders.

13) *Shijrat al Mashaikh* named *Manahij al Tariqat fi Zikr Silasil al Ma'rifat* (Urdu): written on the wish of Mawlana 'Abd al Bari Farangi Mahali about issues of the path.

14) *Al Sharaf al Mubin fi Zikr Mi'raj Saiyid al Mursalin* (Urdu): about the nightflight of the Prophet.

15) *Taskin al Fuwad bezikr 'Abd al Milad* (Urdu): about Milad Sharif.

16) *Insha'iya Haidari* (Persian): his maktubat.

17) *Sharifa-i Armaghan Azadiya*: about khirqah poshi and the Azadiya. Based on the narrative of Shah 'Ali Anwar to Shah Wilayat Ahmad Qalandar.

Shah Taqi Haidar Qalandar

1) *Ansan-i Kamil*: written by Shaikh 'Abd al Karim Jibli both parts were translated into Urdu by Taqi Haidar. Published.

2) *Nur al Sahin* translated as *al Kahf wa al Raqim fi sharh Bismillah al Rahman al Rahim*: written by Shaikh 'Abd al Karim Jibli it was translated into Urdu by Taqi Haidar on the wish of Munshi Wahaj al Din. Published.

3) *Manazir al Shuhud fi Maratib al Wujud* (Urdu): Published.

4) *Hidayat al Sharaf*: written by Shah 'Ali Anwar. Translated into Urdu by Taqi Haidar under this name. Published. (see books by Shah 'Ali Anwar)

5) *Fatih al Absar*: written by Shah 'Ali Anwar and translated into Urdu by Shah Taqi Haidar. Translation published together with original. (see books by Shah 'Ali Anwar)

6) *Kashf al Daqaiq 'an Ramuz al Haqaiq*: written by 'Ali Anwar and translated into Urdu by Taqi Haidar. Translation published with original. (see books by Shah 'Ali Anwar)

7) *Al Dar al Yatim fi Biyan Imam Aba' Nabi al Karim*: written by 'Ali Anwar and translated into Urdu by Taqi Haidar. Translation published with original. (see books by Shah 'Ali Anwar)

8) *Zawahir al Afkar fi sharh Jawahir al Asrar*: written by 'Ali Anwar and translated into Urdu by Taqi Haidr. Translation published with original. (see books by Shah 'Ali Anwar)

9) *Tasfiya sharh Taswiya*: written by 'Ali Anwar and translated into Urdu by Taqi Haidar. Translation published with original. (see books by Shah 'Ali Anwar)

10) *Qawl al Mukhtar fi Masalat al Jabr wa al Ikhtiyar*: written by 'Ali Anwar and

translated in Urdu by Taqi Haidar. Translation published with original. (see books by Shah 'Ali Anwar)

11) *Nakhbat al Sawarif fi sharh Khirbat al 'Awarif*: written by 'Ali Anwar and translated into Urdu by Taqi Haidar. Translation published with original. (see books by Shah 'Ali Anwar)

12) *Tanwir al Afaq fi sharh Tabin al Taraq*: written by 'Ali Anwar and translated into Urdu by Taqi Haidar. Translation published with original. (see books by Shah 'Ali Anwar)

13) *Waqiyat-i Rashidi*: written by Mawlwi Rashid al Din Khan Kakorwi and translated into Urdu by Taqi Haidar. Translation published with original.

14) *Tufhat-i Nizamiya*: written by Makhdum Nizam al Din called Shah Bhikha Kakori. Translated into Urdu by Taqi Haidar and translation published with original.

15) *Tanwir al Zalamat fi Tafsir al Maqta'at* (Arabic): Published.

16) *Fiyus al 'Arifin* (Persian): collection of maktubat, selected by Taqi Haidar. Published.

17) *Jawhar al Ma'arif*: the Persian and Urdu maktubat of 'Ali Anwar collected by Taqi Haidar. Published.

18) *Ta'limat-i Qalandariya* (Persian): the maktubat of the Qalandar saints collected by Taqi Haidar. Published. (see books by Shah Muhammad Kazim)

19) *Majmu'a Rasail Qalandariya*: seven separate booklets by the Qalandar saints translated by Taqi Haidar. About the way to God, the truth, gnosis etc. Published.

20) *Nafhat al 'Anbariya man Anfas al Qalandariya* (Urdu): several lives of Qalandari saints of the silsila. In the second edition Shah Habib Haidar and some other Qalandari saints have also been included. The second edition was published under the

name *Azkar al Abrar.*

21) *Rashahat-i Anwari*: an explanation by Shah 'Ali Anwar of Lama'at written by Fakhr al Din Iraqi. Translated by Taqi Haidar. (see books by Shah 'Ali Anwar)

22) *Mujahadat al Awliya* (Persian): on the struggles of early Qalandar saints. Written by Shah Turab 'Ali. Translated by Shah Taqi Haidar and Mawlwi Muhammad 'Alam. (see books by Shah Turab 'Ali)

1) *Dar Tashrih Abjad*: an explanation of the system of abjad in which each letter of the Arabic alphabet is given a numerical value and this is used to convert dates into words or to find the value of words. Published.

2) *Al Dar al Multafat fi sharh Tuhfat al Mursalat*: an explanation by Shah 'Ali Anwar of the most important book written by Shaikh Muhammad al Din Fazl Allah Burhanpuri, translated into Urdu by 'Ali Haidar. About knowledge of the truth. Translation published with original. (see books by Shah 'Ali Anwar)

3) *Mirat al 'Alam fi Masar al Karam* called *Tazkirah-i Mashahir-i Kakori* (Urdu): a biographical dictionary of all the famous people of Kakori. Published.

4) *Tafrih al Ahbab* (Urdu): a tale of the birth of 'Ali, son-in-law of the Prophet. Published.

5) *Al Sirat al 'Awliya* (Urdu): this book has six parts of which at least the first three have been published. It deals with the life of 'Ali, the hadith relating to him, his sayings, and children etc.

6) *Al Fikr al Gharib be Zikr al Habib* called *Tazkira Habibi* (Urdu): two volumes, it is a life of Shah Habib Haidar Qalandar, his sayings, karamat, maktubat, followers, etc.

7) *Muttab Iman al Intikhab fi Zikr Maishat Saiyidna Abi Turab* (Urdu): about 'Ali.

1) *Matlab-i Rashidi*: written by Shah Turab 'Ali Qalandar, it was translated into Urdu by Shah Mustafa Haidar. Published. (see books by Shah Turab 'Ali)

2) *Milad Sharif* (*Hamare Nabi*) (Urdu): about the Prophet. Published.

Appendix II. i

Teachers of the Founder and the Sajjada nashins of the Khanqah Karimiya, Salon

Shah Pir Muhammad Saloni[1]:

early education at home

Madrasah Kala - Manikpur (rational and religious sciences)

Shah 'Abd al Karim Manikpuri (sufism)

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Shah Muhammad Husain 'Ata:

Mawlwi 'Abd al Qadir Dewi (Arabic)

Mawlwi 'Abd al Basi Jaisi (a disciple of Shah 'Abd al 'Aziz Dehlawi) (...)

Hakim Niyaz Muhi al Din Saloni (poetry)

Shah Muhammad Mahdi 'Ata:

Hafiz Muhrab Khan Goti (Quran)

Shah Muhammad Husain 'Ata (spiritual education)

Mawlwi Ma'ruf Nagrami (Persian)

Mawlwi Mahdi Narwi (Persian and Arabic to Jami)

Mawlana Mawlwi Nur Ahmad Punjabi Sialkoti (remaining Arabic)

Mawlana Mawlwi Altaf Husain Daudnagri (religious studies)

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[1] There is no information as to the teachers of the sajjada nashins between Shah Pir Muhammad Saloni and Shah Muhammad Husain 'Ata. It can be presumed that their spiritual education was undertaken by their fathers and grandfathers and that they will have received some instruction in the Madrasah Karimiya.

Shah Muhammad Na'im 'Ata:

Shah Muhammad Mahdi 'Ata (spiritual education)

Mawlwi 'Ali Hasan Jaisi (rational and spiritual sciences)

Mawlwi 'Abd al 'Ali Asi Madrasi (...)

Mawlwi Saiyid Muhammad Mahdi Mustafabadi (...)

Hakim Saiyid Ghulam Husain Kinturi (...)

Mawlwi Saiyid 'Ali Lucknowi (prose)

Shaikh Muhsin bin Ansari Yemeni (Hadith)

Shah Muhammad Husain:

Shah Muhammad Na'im 'Ata (spiritual education)

Lucknow University (BA (Hons.) Arabic)

Lucknow University (LLB with English literature and history as minors)

Shah Ahmad Husain:

Shah Muhammad Na'im 'Ata (Hadith)

Al Islah Madrasah - Azamgarh (Fazilat Degree)

Lucknow University (MA Arabic Literature)

Sources: Interviews with Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, 16 November 1991 and 22-23 August 1992; interview with Dr.S.Z.H. Jafri, 4 June 1992; Saiyid Taqi Husain, *Nala-i Anfas*, Lucknow, 1900, pp. 4-6; 'Alawi, *Tarikh*, p. 265; Dr.S.N.H. Jafri, "Hazrat Shah Muhammad Husain 'Ata 'Ashrafi'", transcription of broadcast, All India Radio, External Services, Persian Unit, New Delhi, 27 August 1987, Salon Archive.

Appendix II. ii

The Writings of the Sajjada Nashins of the Khanqah Karimiya, Salon

Shah Pir Muhammad Panah

1) *Risala Zikr Khafi wa Jali*

Shah Muhammad Panah 'Ata

1) *Lataif-i Karimi*
2) *Anwar al Haqq ba Hadith Ashraf*
3) *Anwar-i Mukatib*
4) *Ashraf al Sair*
5) *Maktubat*
6) *Fakhr al Fuqra*
7) *Ashraf al Azkar*
8) *Rawzat al Arawah*

Shah Muhammad Husain 'Ata

1) *Diwan-i Ashrafi*: a collection of poetry

Shah Muhammad Mahdi ‘Ata

1) *Hadi-i Hamadiya* (also known as *Lamat al Anwar*)

2) *Naghm-i Hidayat*: a collection of poetry

Shah Muhammad Na‘im ‘Ata

1) *Shahil al Tarkib* (Urdu)

2) *Al Khasasah sharh al Khalasah fi al Khu* (Arabic)

3) *Khair al Masahal takmilah sharh al sharh Matah ‘Amil* (Arabic)

4) *Al Kafi sharh al Wafi* (Arabic)

5) *Al Mantiq fi al Mantiq* (Arabic)

6) *Sharh Masnad Darmi* (Arabic)

7) *Sharh Muntaqi ibn Jarud* (Arabic): one part

8) *Diwan-i Ghazliyat* called *Chamnistan* (Urdu): collection of poetry

9) *Risala Sar al ‘Ain* (Arabic)

10) *Diwan-i Ghazliyat* called *Nazm-i Rangin* (Urdu): collection of poetry

11) *Mathnawi Marat-i Haqiqat* (Urdu): collection of poetry

12) *Ghazliyat wa Qasaid* (Urdu)

13) *Kashf al Qana‘ min waja al Sama‘ bequl Muhadithin* (Arabic)

14) *Al Fazl al ‘Azim fi al Nazr ali waja Allah al Karim* (Arabic)

15) *Zajr al ‘Anid fi qul bijawaz al La‘n ‘Ali Yazid* (Arabic)

16) *Risala Al Qul al Majid fi Jawaz al La‘n ‘Ali Yazid* (Arabic)

17) *Milad Sharif* (Urdu)

18) *Mathnawi Mi'raj 'Ishq* (Urdu)

19) *Talmi' Hashiya Talwih* (Arabic)

20) *Sharh al Sadr fi Ahayai al Qadr* (Arabic)

21) *Al Najr al Maqrut fi al Nikah al Mashrut* (Arabic)

22) *Shad Abu Thaq fi Amar al Talaq* (Arabic)

23) *Al Hajj al Nahudah ba Ta'laqat wa al Thalat wahadah* (Arabic)

24) *Diwan Shahid-i Ghaibi*

25) *Diwan Khun Khan-i Azal*

Sources: 'Alawi, *Tarikh*, pp. 268-9.

Appendix III. i

The Constituency of Warith 'Ali Shah:

Geographical Spread during his life[1]

Masauli - Bara Banki - UP
Ramdana - Sitapur - UP
Malauli - Mainpuri - UP
Farukhabad - Farukhabad - UP
Asiwan - Unao - UP
Kannauj - Farukhabad - UP
Shikohabad - Mainpuri - UP
Firozabad - Agra - UP
Agra - Agra - UP
Fatehpur Sikri - Agra - UP
Etawah - Etawah - UP
Satrikh - Bara Banki - UP
Nawabganj - Bara Banki - UP
Piagpur - Bahraich - UP
Saidanpur - Bara Banki - UP
Mahona - Sultanpur - UP
Ramnagar - Bara Banki - UP
Bara Banki - Bara Banki - UP
Allahabad - Allahabad - UP
Gorakhpur - Gorakhpur - UP
Faizabad - Faizabad - UP
Aligarh - Aligarh - UP
Rai Bareli - Rai Bareli - UP
Jugor - Bara Banki - UP
Dariabad - Bara Banki - UP
Hardoi - Hardoi - UP
Fatehpur - Bara Banki - UP
Pilibhit - Pilibhit - UP
Lucknow - Lucknow - UP
Kheoli - Bara Banki - UP
Baraich - Baraich - UP
Pind - Bara Banki - UP
Khairabad - Sitapur - UP
Gadia - Bara Banki - UP
Bihar - Unao - UP

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[1] The towns listed are only meant to suggest the extent of the following of Warith 'Ali Shah. Since he travelled continuously for most of his life it is impossible to list all the places in which his followers lived, especially for the areas outside of India. The majority of devotees however can be found in Awadh and Bihar.

Rampur - Rampur - UP
Shahjahanpur - Shahjahanpur - UP
Dewa - Bara Banki - UP
Amethi - Lucknow - UP
Jaunpur - Jaunpur - UP
Benares - Benares - UP
Dahrampur - Bulandshar - UP
Hathras - Aligarh - UP
Bankipur
Pitepur - Bara Banki - UP
Rahimabad

Patna - Patna - Bihar
Shaikhpura - Munger - Bihar
Belchi - Patna - Bihar
Azimabad - Patna - Bihar
Darbhanga - Darbhanga - Bihar
Maulananagar - Munger - Bihar
Muzaffarpur - Muzaffarpur - Bihar
Bhagalpur - Bhagalpur - Bihar

Calcutta - Bengal

Delhi - Delhi

Simla - Simla - Himachal Pradesh

Amritsar - Amritsar - Punjab
Rawalpindi - Rawalpindi - Punjab
Multan - Multan - Punjab

Tonk - Rajasthan
Jaipur - Rajasthan
Ajmer - Rajasthan
Nagaur - Rajasthan

Surat - Gujarat

Bombay - Maharashtra

Bhopal - Bhopal

Indore - Madhya Pradesh
Ujjain - Madhya Pradesh

Madras - Tamil Nadu

Malabar - Kerala

Afghanistan
Khorasan - Iran
Iran
Baghdad - Iraq
Saudi Arabia
Istanbul - Turkey
Russia
Germany
Africa

Source: Beg, *Al Warith.*

Geographical Spread of Voters
of the Mausoleum Trust in 1992/3

Voters are divided into three categories. Electoral College category 1 consists of managers of donated properties worth Rs. 500/- and above. Their right to vote passes after their death on to the next manager of the property. Electoral College category 2 consists of managers of donated properties worth between Rs. 100/- and Rs. 499/-. Their right to vote is equally transferred from one to the next. Electoral College category 3 is made up of those people who have once donated Rs. 400/- or more. They have the right to vote during their lifetime.

Cat.1

Aligarh d.istrict - UP [2]
Dewa - Bara Banki - UP
Lucknow district - UP
Jawanipur - Sultanpur - UP
Patna - Bihar
Calcutta - Bengal
Dibrugarh - Asam

Cat.2

Lucknow district - UP [2]
Dewa - Bara Banki - UP
Mardpur - Gaya - Bihar
Belchi - Bihar
Calcutta - Bengal

Cat.3

Lucknow - Lucknow - UP [23]
Dildarnagar - Ghazipur - UP
Firozabad - Agra - UP [3]
Kakori - Lucknow - UP
Masauli - Bara Banki - UP
Dewa - Bara Banki - UP [7]
Kanpur - Kanpur - UP [6]
Babaganj - Bahraich - UP
Allahabad district - UP
Rampur district - UP [2]
Moradabad district - UP [6]
Etawah district - UP [2]
Unao district - UP [2]

Dudhpur - Aligarh - UP [2]
Benares district - UP [2]
Basti district - UP
Balrampur - Gonda - UP [2]
Gonda district - UP
Mughalserai - Benares - UP
Shajahanpur district- UP
Gorakhpur district- UP
Saidanpur - Bara Banki - UP
Farukhabad district- UP
Mirzapur district - UP
Atia - UP
Malihabad - Lucknow - UP
Mainpuri - Mainpuri - UP
Jawanipur - Sultanpur - UP [5]

Jagdispur - Bhojpur - Bihar
Jamshedpur - Singhbum - Bihar
Rothas - Bihar
Naharibagh - Bihar
Ranchi district - Bihar [2]
Singhbhum district - Bihar [3]
Patna - Bihar [12]

Calcutta - Bengal [24]
Delhi - Delhi [4]

Patiala - Punjab [2]
Gujarat - Gujarat
Ahmedabad - Gujarat [4]
Gujarat state [2]
Kalahandi - Orissa
Bilaspur - MP [2]
Shajapur - MP
Bombay city [2]
Bombay - Maharashtra
Srinagar - Kashmir [4]
Guwahati - Asam

Lahore - Pakistan [2]
Karachi - Pakistan [3]
Jeddah - Saudi Arabia
New Jersey - America
Ontario - Canada
America [2]
Vancouver - Canada

Source: List of Voters of the Haji Waris Ali Shah Mausoleum Trust, September 1992.

The Constituency of Warith 'Ali Shah:

Professional Spread

Landlord	[11]
Manager of Estate	[2]
Judge/High Court Judge	[3]
Deputy Collector	[2]
Deputy Inspector	
Barrister	
Court Employee	
Wakil	[7]
Hakim	[3]
Doctor (western medicine)	
Risaldar	[2]
Numberdar	
Army Officer	
Businessman	[2]
Grain Merchant	
Tobacco Merchant	
Timber Merchant	
Building Contractor	
Baniya	
Dhobi	
Sweeper	
Carpenter	
Stonemason	
Religious leader (mahant)	
Preacher	
Scholar and Teacher	[6]
Translator	
Railway Employee	[2]

Sources: Beg, *Al Warith*; List of Voters for the Haji Waris Ali Shah Mausoleum Trust, September 1992.

Appendix III. ii

Teachers of Warith 'Ali Shah

Mawlana Saiyid Mazhar 'Ali	(Quran)
Mawlwi Imam 'Ali	(primary textbooks and a
Mawlwi Hafiz 'Abd al Samad	grounding in the shari'a)
Mawlana Haji Khadim 'Ali Shah	(spiritual education)

Sources: Siddiqi, *Mishkat*, pp.9-10; Beg, *Al Warith*, pp. 50-1.

Glossary

abdal (sg. ***badal***): a mystical being, one of the degrees in the sufi hierarchy, those who unknown to the masses participate by means of their powerful influence in the preservation of the order of the universe.

adab: formalized code of proper conduct.

ahram: traditional dress made out of unstitched cloth worn by those on ***hajj*** (q.v.). Similar to the ***tahband*** (q.v.).

'alim (pl. ulama): a learned man, learned in Islamic legal and religious studies.

angarkha: a male garment, evolved in Delhi and refined in Lucknow, worn during the later part of the Nawabi.

'aqidat: belief, doctrine, religious tenet.

'asa: rod, stick, staff.

ashraf (sg. ***sharif***): 'honoured', used to distinguish those Muslims who belong to families of extra-Indian origin from later converts to Islam (called ***ajlaf*** in northern India).

awrad (sg. ***wird***): a sufi practice, the repetitions of certain prayers or parts of the Quran.

ayat: the miracles or 'signs' of God in Islam.

bai'at: act of swearing allegiance as the disciple of a pir.

bakhshi: paymaster in the army.

baradari: a building with many doors.

barakat: blessing, holiness; spiritual charisma of a saint, transferable to his tomb and his descendants, also conveyed in ***tabarruk*** (q.v.).

barzakh: in sufi terminology: the space between the material world and that of the

pure spirits, boundary of the world of humans.

basant: the spring festival.

bigha: land measure equalling five-eights of an acre.

bi-shar: denotes those sufis who declare that the law of Islam does not exist for persons illuminated by mysticism.

biswa: land measure, the twentieth part of a ***bigha*** (q.v.).

buzurg: 'venerable, senior person', spiritual or familial senior, a saint.

chadar: a cloth, covering, sheet.

chak: a piece of land, detached fields of a village.

chakla: a division of a region containing several ***pargana***s (q.v.); held by a ***chakladar*** or governor.

chilla khana: the (solitary) place where ***chilla***, seclusion often for forty days, is performed.

dargah: tomb, shrine.

daroga: the head man of an office; an inspector of police.

dars-i nizami: a syllabus of religious education developed at Farangi Mahal in Lucknow and current in South Asia.

dastar bandi: turban-tying (ceremony signifying succession to authority).

diwan: office or official in charge of financial and revenue matters.

dhoti: a male garment (a cloth worn round the waist passing between the legs and tucked in behind).

ekka: cart drawn by horse used to transport people.

fatiha: recitation of the opening chapter of the Quran and prayer offered to the dead including sufi saints.

fatwa: ruling or opinion on a point of religious law issued by a ***mufti*** (q.v.).

fawjdar: administrative head of a district, executive and military governor.

fiqh: the science of Islamic jurisprudence, in Sunni Islam there are four different schools of law: Hanafi, Maliki, Hanbali and Shafi'i.

futuh: unasked for charity.

gagar: earthen pot or vessel.

giyarhwin: the celebrations in honour of Shah 'Abd al Qadir Gilani on the eleventh of each month.

ghusl: the ceremony of the washing of the grave of sufi saints during ***'urs*** (q.v.)

hadith: 'tradition', sayings of the Prophet based on the authority of a chain of transmitters.

hafiz: a person who has memorized the Quran.

hafiz-i hadith: a person who has memorised a certain number of ***hadith*** (q.v.).

hajj: pilgrimage to Mecca.

haram: forbidden, unlawful, wrong.

hazrat: a title of respect applied to any great person.

'id: festival. There are two major festivals in the Muslim calendar: *'Id al Fitr* at the end of Ramazan and *'Id al Azha*, the feast of sacrifice, at the end of the ***hajj*** (q.v.). Prayers on ***'id*** are held in the ***'idgah***.

ijazat: permission, licence, an authorization of a person to transmit something. Confirmed in writing in the ***ijazat nama***.

ijtihad: technical term in Islamic law: individual reasoning, individual inquiry to establish the ruling of the ***shari'a*** (q.v.) upon a given point.

'ilm al ghaib: knowledge of the unseen, possessed by those with great spiritual

powers, for instance, saints,

imambara: a place where Shia mourning ceremonies take place during Muharram and ***ta'ziya***s (q.v.) are stored.

'itr: perfume, fragrance, essence.

jagir: assignment of revenue from a particular area, held by a ***jagirdar***.

janashin(i): successor (succession).

jazb: absorption, mystical attraction (q.v. ***majzub***).

jihad: (i) spiritual struggle against the lower instincts in oneself (q.v. ***mujahadat***); (ii) legitimate war waged against non-Muslims.

jinn: ghost or spirit, good or evil, able to possess or help human beings, can be controlled by humans.

kachcha: makeshift, temporary.

kaifiyat: general term for mystical arousal and exhilaration; state of ecstasy.

kalam: science of the 'word', the study of the Quran or Islamic theology.

kalima: a declaration of faith.

karamat: a miracle or 'marvel' of a sufi saint.

kashf: a disclosure, an opening, a manifestation from God.

khalifa: successor to the authority of a shrine or of a saint.

khanqah: sufi hospice, a centre where sufis live and teach.

khilafat: succession to spiritual authority, permission granted by a pir to a disciple to make disciples himself. Confirmed in writing in the ***khilafat nama***.

khirqa: long cloak.

khirqa poshi: putting on the long cloak (ceremony signifying succession to spiritual authority).

kotwal: the chief officer of the police for a city or town; city magistrate.

langar: public kitchen to distribute food.

madad-i ma'ash: means of support, an assignment of land for the support of either people or an institution.

mahfil-i sama': 'gathering, assembly for listening (to spiritual music)'; ***qawwali*** (q.v.) assembly.

mela: fair.

majzub: one whom God has drawn to himself, a person intoxicated with the love for God, a 'madman'.

maktab: a primary school.

maktubat: letters, writings.

malfuzat: the sayings or utterances of a pir.

manqulat: the revealed sciences, a division of the religious sciences including Quranic ***tafsir*** (q.v.), ***hadith*** (q.v.) and ***fiqh*** (q.v.).

mansab: an officer or official rank.

mantiq: logic.

ma'qulat: the rational sciences, a division of the religious sciences, including grammar, logic, philosophy and mathematics.

marabout: a sufi saint, a friend of God; term used mainly in the north African context; q.v. ***murshid***, ***wali***.

masnad: a throne or large cushion upon which the ***sajjada nashin*** (q.v.) sits during official engagements.

mawlud: Prophet's birthday celebration.

milad: birthday, nativity; here the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad; q.v.

mawlud.

mufti: an expert of Islamic law.

muhaddith: a scholar of ***hadith*** (q.v.).

muhalla: quarter of a town.

mujahadat: striving against something, strenuous effort, struggle.

mujawir: guardian of a tomb.

mu'jizat: the miracles of the prophets in Islam.

munsif: a subordinate judge.

murid: disciple of a pir or ***murshid*** (q.v.). A female disciple will be called ***murida***.

murshid: a sufi master or saint able to lead disciples, ***murid***s (q.v.) on the mystical way.

mutawalli: manager of an endowment.

nazar: offering to a superior as a token of submission and allegiance.

nikah: marriage.

pargana: a revenue subdivision of a ***tahsil*** (q.v.).

peshkar: a subordinate court official.

pir bhai: spiritual brother, a fellow initiate of the same pir.

piri-muridi: relationship between pir and ***murid*** (q.v.).

pir-o murshid: form of address of a pir.

pirzada: born of a pir, belonging to a pir's family.

purdah nashin: women who are in purdah, i.e. veiled, when they leave their apartment.

qanungo: a superintendent of village accountants, registrar of landed property in

a ***pargana*** (q.v.).

qasbah: small town (Muslim in cultural style).

qawwal: a musician singing or playing ***qawwali*** (q.v.).

qawwali: music as part of devotional exercises.

qazi: judge.

qazi al qazat: chief judge.

qiyam: the practice of standing up when the Prophet Muhammad or one of his attributes is mentioned during ***mawlud*** celebrations (q.v.).

qudrat: divine power.

qul: death commemoration ritual.

qutb: a term used for the sufi considered the most advanced of his time.

rumali: a shawl, handkerchief, towel.

sadr amin: a subordinate magistrate under East India Company rule.

sadr al sudur: chief judge.

sahib-i khidmat: 'a man who is serving a saint', a mystical being, a degree in the hierarchy of sufi saints.

sajjada nashin: 'sitter on the prayer carpet', successor to a sufi saint at his shrine, usually a familial descendant.

sama': the sufi practice of listening to spiritual music; the performance of sufi music. Often performed in the ***sama'khana*** of a shrine.

sanad: a certificate.

sandal: sandalwood paste, a ritual involving this paste during the ***'urs***.

sarrishtedar: head Indian officer in a collector's office or court of Justice.

sihra: a garland or wreath worn by the bride and bridegroom at the marriage

ceremony.

shan-i rahimi: grace of kindness.

shan-i rahmani: grace of masterliness.

shari'a: 'the straight path leading to the water', the divine law in Islam.

shijra: 'genealogy' of sufi spiritual descent line.

silsila: 'chain', a sufi chain of spiritual descent or affiliation.

suba: province of the Mughal Empire, held by a ***subadar***.

tabarruk: blessed objects, conveyors of ***barakat*** (q.v.).

tafsir: Quranic exegesis.

tafzili: those Sunni Muslims who have an exceptionally high regard for 'Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet, and revere him more than other caliphs.

tahband: a dress similar to the ***ahram*** (q.v.) it is made out of two pieces of unstitched cloth.

tahsil: major administrative subdivision of a district, held by a ***tahsildar*** (adj. ***tahsili***).

tariqa: 'the mystical way'; a particular sufi order or brotherhood.

tark-i raza: renunciation of pleasure or an easy life.

tasawwuf: the science of sufism.

tasbih: a string of beads used to count one's prayers, similar to rosary.

tawakkul: trust in God, complete reliance on God.

tawhid: unity of God.

ta'wiz: an amulet or a prayer.

ta'ziya: an effigy of the tomb of Imam Husain, used in Shia mourning processions during Muharram.

tazkira: a collective biography.

thana: local police station.

thumri: a verse measure, popularly used for love songs.

tibb (also: ***unani tibb***): Islamic system of medicine practised by a hakim.

'urs: 'wedding', the celebration of a saint's final union with God; the saint's death anniversary; major annual festival at many sufi shrines.

uwaisi: a mystical connection to a dead shaikh; someone who has attained illumination outside the mystical path and without the guidance of a living sufi saint. Based on Uwais al Qaranai a contemporary of and strong believer in the Prophet who never physically met him.

wahdat al shuhud: metaphysical doctrine of phenomenological monism, Unity of Appearance.

wahdat al wujud: metaphysical doctrine of ontological monism, Unity of Being.

wakilat: the practice of a wakil, an advocate or pleader.

wali (pl. ***awliya***): saint, friend of God.

waqf (pl. ***awqaf***): pious endowment.

wilayat: the geographical space for which one sufi considers himself as ruler to the exclusion of all others.

wird (pl. ***awrad***): a sufi practice, repetition of prayers or a certain part of the Quran.

ziyarat: visit to either a tomb or pir or visitation in dream.

zikr: 'remembering'; the rhythmic repetition of God's name or a short phrase in his praise.

Note on the Sources

This study has been based on both oral and written materials. Interviews were either taped and transcribed or written down immediately. Each interviewee was presented with a transcript which he approved. Copies of the transcripts are with the author.

For each of the three sufi institutions the availability of written materials varied greatly. The development of Takiya Sharif, Kakori, is well documented in written sources. Almost all of them were written by members of the 'Alawi family. Up to the end of the nineteenth century the majority were written in either Arabic or Persian. In the twentieth century more texts were composed in Urdu and many of the earlier tracts were translated into the vernacular. Books began to be published from the 1860s onwards. A large number came to be written in the period 1920s to 1940s when the family was increasingly dispersed all over India in search of jobs and there was the danger that knowledge could be lost. The written material has been supplemented with interviews with the nephew of the current sajjada nashin.

In the research on Takiya Sharif use has been made of saints' lives, biographical dictionaries and family histories. The earliest saintly biography was *Usul al Maqsud* by Shah Turab 'Ali. It was the biography of his father, the founding saint of Takiya Sharif, to which a collection of earlier Qalandar saints' lives of the silsila was added. The next collection was *Rawz al Azhar* by Shah Taqi 'Ali, extended as *Hawz al Kawzar* by Shah 'Ali Anwar with a preface by Shah Habib Haidar entitled *Muwahhab al Qalandar*. This included the lives of the Qalandar saints up to Shah Taqi 'Ali. The first collection of

Qalandar saints' lives in Urdu was *Nafhat al 'Anbariya* by Shah Taqi Haidar. It went up to Shah 'Ali Anwar. The revised edition, *Azkar al Abrar*, included also Shah Habib Haidar. The last collection of lives was *Tazkira-i Gulshan-i Karam* by Taqi Anwar 'Alawi. It goes up to and includes the present sajjada nashin. The only separate biography for a saint is the *Tazkira Habibi* which is devoted to Shah Habib Haidar and was written by his youngest brother. All of these saints' lives include sections in which the miracles of the respective saint are listed. A separate booklet containing the karamat of Shah 'Ali Anwar, *Gulshan-i Karamat*, collected by Makram Ahmad 'Alawi, has been published. There are two biographical dictionaries for Kakori, one is the *Tazkira-i Mashahir-i Kakori* by Shah 'Ali Haidar published in 1927 and the other is *Sukhunwaran-i Kakori* by Sharar Ahmad 'Alawi published in 1987 in Pakistan. There is further a separate family history for the 'Alawis, *Nafhat al Nasim fi Tahqiq Ahwal Awlad 'Abd al Karim* by Sami 'Ali 'Alawi. There are also a history of the buildings of the shrine, *Azarat-i Takiya Sharif*, and an account of all the tombs and graves within the shrine, *Tafsil Mazarat-i Sahiban-i "Khanqah Kazimiya Kakori"*. A published biography of a murid and khalifa (Wahaj al Din 'Uthmani), *'Uyun al Ma'arif*, is also available.

All these books can be found in the library of Takiya Sharif, the Kitabkhane Anwariya. Some of them are also available in the Maulana Azad Library at Aligarh Muslim University and the Library of Delhi University. Most of the books were published by small publishers in limited numbers and are out of print today.

There are not many written materials available for the Khanqah Karimiya, Salon. What there is has been divided within the family and is spread over India and Pakistan.

The shrine operated largely within an oral culture and books written or published were in the main of a scholarly content. There is no library at the shrine. Most of the materials consulted, including those listed under 'Salon Archive', are in the possession of Drs. Zaheer and Naqi Jafri, Delhi. Extensive use has been made of interviews with the brothers of the current sajjada nashin. Use has also been made of the large number of government records to be found in the India Office Library and Records, London, and the Uttar Pradesh State Archives, Lucknow. The various disputes over succession and landholdings generated an enormous amount of paperwork on the part of the colonial government. Important among them are the earliest extensive report on the Salon endowment undertaken by J.C. Woods, officiating Deputy Commissioner, Partabgarh, 1861, referred to as *Wood's Despatch* (BoR, Rai Bareli, File 641 of 1860-2, UPSA, Lucknow), and the even more detailed account undertaken by Saiyid Mahmud, at one time district judge for Rai Bareli, in 1884, referred to as *Sayed Mahmud's Memorandum* (NWP&O, GAD, List 25A, Serial 34, File 102, Cover 8, UPSA, Lucknow).

The life of Haji Warith 'Ali Shah and his spiritual tradition is well documented in books. He himself did not write anything and only a couple of texts were composed during his lifetime. Most of the books on him were written by followers in the decades following his death. Many of those had an agenda in that they either argued for or against the prohibition to an official succession of the saint. The two large biographies consulted, *Mishkat-i Haqaniya* by Fazl Husain Siddiqi and *Sa'i al Harith fi Riyahin al Warith* by Mirza Muhammad Ibrahim Beg, were written by people concerned to validate the non-succession. *Faizan-i Warith* by Abu al Mas'ud Hashmi Islam al Din Ahmad, however, is

determined to prove that a succession had been intended. The article "A Nineteenth Century Saint" by Iftikhar S. Husain, a resident of Kakori, was written on the request of Commissioner of Benares. It was the earliest text on Warith 'Ali Shah in English. Books continue to be produced on the life of Warith 'Ali Shah duplicating what has already been written. There is a library within the Mausoleum complex in Dewa; books can also be found in the Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh Muslim University, and Delhi University Library. For the development of the Mausoleum Trust the Assistant Secretary of the Trust, Mr. Chaudhry Atae Waris, has been interviewed. Use has also been made of the official files on the setting up of the Trust (NWP&O, GAD, List 25, Serial 30, File 257 of 1917, and Serial 91, File 601 of 1921, UPSA, Lucknow).

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Interviews

The following interviews and communications have been drawn on:

Kakori
Dr. Masud Anvar Alavi, nephew of the current sajjada nashin of Takiya Sharif, interviews on 30 and 31 October 1991, 26 April 1992, 28 June 1992 and 5 September 1992; communications from 10 January 1994, 19 February 1994 and 25 April 1995.

Salon
Dr. Saiyid Naqi Husain Jafri, brother of the current sajjada nashin of the Khanqah Karimiya, interviews on 16, 17, 18 November 1991, 20 January 1992, 5 June 1992, 22-23 August 1992 and 24 September 1992; communications from 29 August 1992, 25 August 1993, 26 October 1993.

Dr. Saiyid Zaheer Husain Jafri, brother of the current sajjada nashin of the Khanqah Karimiya, interviews on 14, 19, 25, 27 and 30 January 1992 and 4 June 1992.

Dewa
Mr. Chaudhry Atae Waris, Assistant Secretary, Haji Waris Ali Shah Mausoleum Trust, interview on 15-17 August 1992.

Archive

SALON ARCHIVE (in possession of Dr. Saiyid Zaheer Husain Jafri)

Shijra of the Ja'fri family.

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